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The Use of Proper Names as Minor Themes in Juvenal

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THE USE OF PROPER NAMES AS MINOR THEMES IN JUVENAL

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Preface

This study is concerned with Juvenal's use of proper names as a type of minor theme. Upward of 1400 names were studied.

Names are used by Juvenal to make the meaning of the surrounding context clearer and more vivid, by the connotation present in the name. Thus, names constitute illustrations of themes. In these same names, however, there are often connotations which extend beyond the confines of the immediate themes, and suggest minor themes. The concern of this study is with the names forming such minor themes. It must be remarked, however, that themes minor in one place may become major in another place.

It was felt at the outset that certain personal names employed by Juvenal might be used to designate stock characters. Friedlander,[1] however, and Borghesi[1] have presented persuasive evidence indicating that Juvenal introduces only real characters into his satires, and calls them by their real names. Yet Wilson feels that those names which cannot be connected with persons known to history are, in many cases, used to represent certain more or less clearly defined types. This controversy, representing opposite

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1. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire, IV. 318-321.
2. Wilson, D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturarum Libri V, Introduction, XXIII.

views, each of which has unquestionable merit, precluded the adoption of either view. It was decided to classify the names of that group of persons unknown to history which might represent stock characters under the heading "Of literary invention." This nomenclature favors the view of Wilson but it is not meant to exclude the opinions of Friedländer and Borghesi; It merely segregates the group which causes the controversy.

The personal and other proper names are classified in accordance with the significance associated with each name under divisions which become the chapter titles. A more specific classification resulted in sections of chapters. Finally, for the sake of convenience, the names in each section were arranged, as far as possible, according to the source from which they are drawn. An Index Nominum is appended affording easy reference.

The constant aid of the editions of Juvenal by Wilson, Wright and Macleane is here acknowledged. They have been heavily drawn upon.

Introduction

The literary style of Juvenal is largely dependant upon his own particular genius for moralizing and upon the mastery and use of the rhetorical training that he received. An ancient vita[1] tells us that he practised declamation until almost the middle of his life "more for the sake of amusement than for academic or forensic use".[2] In order, therefore, to appreciate fully the style of Juvenal, and more specifically his stylistic use of proper names, the historical background for his writing and the educational system of his day must be reviewed briefly.

The political conditions of the early Roman Empire precluded that pursuit of eminence in statecraft, oratory, or the army common in Republican times, since free expression was no longer possible, and the glory attached to military victories was restricted to the emperors. Diverted from their natural paths to distinction, many of the educated class turned to literature as an outlet for their energies. Yet, even under Augustus, freedom of thought in literary production was not entirely possible. Thus the history of his own times by Titus Labienus, an opponent of the new order, was concondemned to be burnt because it was hostile, in places, to the imperial government.[3] The author chose not to survive his work and had himself buried alive. Cremutus Codrus, eleven years after the death of Augustus, starved himself to death, anticipating his condemnation.[4] In his Annals

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1. H.L. Wilson, D. Juni Juvenalis Saturarum Libri V, Introd. VIII - IX
2. J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, 601.
3. Ludwig Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire (trans. J.H. Freese and L. A. Magnus), III. 28.
4. Ibid., 28.

he had maintained that Brutus and Cassius were the last of the Romans.[5] The works of Cordus, too, were burnt. Even tragedy could be misunderstood. The noble-born author of the Atreus, the last of the Scaurus family,[6] incurred death, because the line, 'The folly of kings must be patiently endured,' was deemed offensive to the reign of Tiberius. At such a time then, when even the beast-fables of Phaedrus were branded as libellous, literature seemed to be a dangerous mode of expression. Indeed, the outlook for literary men must have been a bleak one under the espionage permitted by Tiberius in his later days; under the ever dangerous Caligula; under the freedmen of Claudius; and under the jealousy of Nero. Still it was possible to write, if only the subjects were beyond the suspicion of offering offense to those in positions of authority; or, as in the case of Nero, beyond the possibility of stimulating literary jealousy. For this reason, and because the Augustan age had brought about the perfecting of a poetic language,[7] it was poetry that was produced in quantity rather than prose, in the early Empire. The influence of Vergil supplied a great impetus to the writing of epic poetry and to the production of other poetic types. Even poetic lampooning was not impossible, for Martial was safe as long as he assailed only those who could do him no harm. This was also true of the satires of Persius and Juvenal. A greater freedom of thought, however, did not arrive until the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96.[8] At that time critical history could be written in

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5. Ibid., 28.
6. Friedlander, op. cit., III. 28.
7. Ibid., III. 26f.
8. Duff, op. cit., 562.

safety.

To sum up, the political conditions of the principate made impossible, in the main, the exercise of oratory and participation in political life. For these it substituted literary production and the practise of declamation. Even such occupations were limited by the imposition of severe penalties for criticism of political conditions. In short, prose, especially history, gave way to poetry, and the popularity of Vergil and Horace in the schools supplied the inspiration for producing poetry in imitation of these poets. Thus, by political conditions, Juvenal was allowed to criticize only three classes of people, viz. persons who were dead, persons judicially condemned and persons of humble rank.[9] The influence of Vergil upon Juvenal, since it is largely metrical and shown particularly in the choice of words, does not concern us. Horace, on the other hand, furnished themes and types of stock characters to Juvenal, and exerted upon the later satirist a considerable influence.[10]

The most important influence upon both Juvenal and that period of Latin literature which we call the Silver Age, was the prevalent rhetorical education.[11] Political conditions of the time restricted the scope of literature; but it was the training supplied by the rhetorical schools which gave to Silver Latinity its characteristic qualities and style. By the time of Quintilian there were three definite stages of the educative process.[12] These were the elementary stage, where instruction was entrusted to a litterator, the secondary stage where the pupil was taught by a grammaticus, and the third stage, where the rhetor endeavored to supply the finishing

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9. Friedlander, op. cit., IV. 319.
10. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Intr. XXV, footnote 1, where direct influences of Horace upon Juvenal are listed.
11. Duff, op. cit., 23.
12. Ibid., 25

touches to the educational process.[13] The work of the litterator was concerned with the teaching of reading, and with an introduction to the poets. Only a trifling knowledge of music and geometry was thought desirable.[14] In connection with the study of literature children were given instruction also in geography, astronomy, philosophy, the history of literature, and history proper, of which legend and mythology constituted parts.[15] These studies were regarded as essential to the understanding and appreciation of the authors read. At the same time children were expected to profit from the doctrines of morality enunciated by the several authors read. Friedlander[16] thinks it likely that maxims were collected from the poets and adapted for school use. Fables, too, were used in early instruction. Quintilian[17] preferred Greek authors for early instruction, and insisted on the selection of good authors for elementary education. From such an elementary school the student usually passed at about twelve or thirteen to the care of the grammaticus.

The main objective of the grammaticus was to give the pupil a thorough acquaintance with standard Greek and Latin literature. Here the pupil was trained in the correct usage of language, and the appreciation of poetry.[18] In connection with the study of language, syntax, spelling, accidence, and pronunciation were studied. Appreciation of literature meant more than a knowledge of Greek and Latin literature. It aimed at the complete un-

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13. The study of philosophy, especially when pursued abroad by Romans is here, following Duff, op. cit., 30, regarded as "post-graduate".
14. Friedlander, op. cit., III. 3.
15. Ibid., III. 3.
16. Ibid., III. 3. Cf. also Duff, op. cit., 27.
17. Duff. op. cit., 27.
18. Ibid., 28.

derstanding of the author, and therefore demanded a knowledge of music, astronomy, physics, and philosophy.[19] The authors studied were usually poets, prolonged acquaintance with whom colored the cultured diction of the Empire with a poetic hue. It was customary to start in Greek with Homer, and continue with Hesiod and Menander. The Greek lyric poets were excerpted[20] so that eroticism might not offend the squeamish. The father of the poet Statius conducted a school where Theocritus, Pindar, Ibycus, Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho, Corinna, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Sophron were studied in addition to Homer. In Latin, even in Horace's time, Andronicus' translation of the Odyssey was found in the schools, and the epics of Naevius and Ennius were taught alongside of the dramatists Plautus, Terence, Caecilius, Pacuvius, Accius and Afranius.[21] In the Empire, Vergil, introduced into the curriculum by Caecilius Epirota, became the first Latin author put in the hands of the young, and his poems speedily served as the foundation of the Latin course. Horace, too, became a favorite, and was exceeded in popularity by Vergil alone. A later passion for novelty added to a boredom with the archaic poets studied, helped to introduce modern poets into the curriculum.[22] Thus, Lucan, Statius, and even Nero were introduced. Lucan's epic seems to have been introduced very shortly after publication since, during the reign of Vespasian, poetical ornament was required of the orator from the sanctuary of Vergil, Horace and Lucan.[23] Later a reversion to the archaic restored many of the old poets who served

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19. Duff, op. cit., 28.
20. Friedlander, op. cit., III. 3. Duff, op. cit., 29.
21. Duff, op. cit., 30.
22. Friedlander (op. cit., III. 3-9) discusses the change in literary taste during the early Empire.
23. Friedlander, op. cit., III. 4.

as a protest against the degeneracy of the modern taste. In furtherance of this idea an effort was made to include orators such as the Gracchi, and the poets Naevius, Ennius, Plautus, Accius, Pacuvius and Lucilius in the secondary curriculum. The influence of Hadrian, who preferred Cato to Cicero, and Ennius to Vergil,[24] later insured the popularity of the old writers.

In addition to such reading matter composition was stressed. The retelling of Aesop's fables orally or in written form, character sketches, brief stories of a poetic type, extracts of ethical importance, training in moral maxims occupied much time. The youthful student was also trained in reading well, free from sing-song and localisms.[25] The subject matter, as mentioned before, was explained elaborately, and literary criticism applied to the authors studied.

The usual age of departure from such "grammar" schools, and entrance into the schools of rhetoric was sixteen. If the emphasis in the secondary schools was put upon the understanding and appreciation of literature, with the greatest emphasis upon poetry, the schools of rhetoric may be said to have stressed the prose content. Otherwise, the authors studied were largely the same at both levels. The chief difference in the use of such authors by each school lay in the approach. The grammaticus aimed to teach literature, and the rhetor strove to teach rhetorical effect. The rhetorical schools constituted the necessary prerequisite for the vocations of public life, and the cultured standard of the day was set by the training provided in such schools. Moreover, the study of rhetoric itself was closely connected with Greek methods from the second century B.C.

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24. Friedländer, op. cit., III. 6.
25. Duff, op. cit., 29.

The best features of the Greek system were adopted by the Romans. About the year 84 B.C. compositions declaimed on purely imaginary themes were introduced, and became an integral part of the educative process. Thenceforth the rhetorical exercise of declaiming on an invented subject, as an academic exercise came to be known by the term declamatio.[26] In due time declamation came to be the supreme exercise in rhetoric. But, before declamation was practised, preliminary exercises of a prescribed cast had to be practised by the pupil. These exercises dealt with brief narratives[27] (of a less poetic nature than those performed in the "grammar" schools), investigation of questions of history, panegyric, invective, the examination of good and bad laws, character studies, moral studies, questions of a general type for debate,[28] and questions involving reasons for particular facts.[29] Lectures were given on the style of masters of oratory and history, and Cicero and Livy were studied and imitated.

The most advanced exercises of this type of school were the suasoria and the controversia; the former preparing for oratory of a deliberative nature and the latter, for the law courts.[30] Many subjects of such exercises have come down to the present time.[31] The suasoria required that the pupil identify himself with a character in history or legend. Thus subjects were chosen such as, "Alexander deliberating whether he shall cross the ocean;" "Agamemnon deliberating concerning the sacrifice of Iphigeneia,"

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26. Duff, op. cit., 29.
27. Ibid., 31f.
28. For examples Cf. Duff, op. cit., 31.
29. Ibid., 31f.
30. Ibid., 38. footnote 2.
31. Seven suasoriae, five books of controversiae, and excerpts from five lost books have come down from the writings of Seneca the elder. Quintilian and Suetonius, too, cite typical themes; Cf. Duff, op. cit., 32; Friedländer, op. cit., III. 15f.

"Cicero deliberating about the burning of his books to secure safety from Anthony." At other times the method was an address giving advice to a character of history or legend, as for instance, the counsel which Juvenal remembers giving Sulla,[32] or the advice which he gives to Hannibal.[33] The suasoria demanded an historical background, psychological insight, dramatic power, and the gift of imagination.[34]

The controversia was a type of legal question designed to give the students practice in arguing cases before a law court. The atmosphere about the delivery of such exercises was purposely imitative of a real law court, and students in the role of defense lawyers and prosecution attorneys would argue back and forth. Sometimes a student would argue on one side of a case, then turn about and argue on the other. An example of this type of exercise may well be cited. Certain youths have, for the sake of speculation, purchased in advance the cast of some fishermen. The net brings up a treasure. The question is concerned with whether or not the youths are entitled to the treasure, or only the fish.[35] Tyrants were also a favorite subject of such controversiae, as were the depredations of pirates. The plight of the impoverished nobility forced to earn their living as gladiators, maidens of noble birth sold as prostitutes, the plague, adultery, torture and murder were stock themes of the controversiae.[36]

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32. Cf. Juv. 1. 15-17
33. Cf. Juv. 7. 158-164; 10. 166-167
34. Duff, op. cit., 33.
35. Ibid., 33-34
36. Friedlander, op. cit., III. 16.

Juvenal was a product of this system of education. From it he secured much that was later to influence his satires. The typical rhetorical devices characterizing Juvenal's style are of no concern in this study. We have, however, reviewed at length the devices of the schools in order to show how from his earliest days the pupil obtained a generous fund of historical, geographical, mythological, and literary allusions. The characters of history, mythology, literature passed before his eyes. He learned to watch for moral traits, to analyze the fine and vicious qualities of an age. He defended noble actions and attacked the evil deeds of tyrant, criminal, and social pervert.

Juvenal thus had at hand a stock of characters known to everyone and standing by traditional usage for certain deeds and certain qualities. These constitute ready material to arouse quickly an idea or conception, to illustrate a statement, to point a moral lesson or lend concreteness to an attack he used.

From his training Juvenal obtained a generous fund of historical, geographical, mythological and literary allusions. He used such allusions extensively, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters. The very themes of some of Juvenal's satires approach the subjects of the typical theses argued in the rhetorical schools.[37] Indeed, it may well be said that the subjects of Juvenal's satires are the various vices affecting the people. The names of persons introduced are really concrete examples of

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37. Cf. C. Middleton and T.R. Mills, Student's Companion to Latin Authors, 325, who claim that the fifth satire of Juvenal has for its subject the rhetorical thesis, "Is the position of a client worth having?" Similarly, satires 8, 10, and 14 are really theses or problems of a general character worked out in the manner of the rhetorical schools.

the working and extent of the vices. Therefore, the names used to illustrate particular vices, and to add weight to a certain context often constitute minor themes, because they suggest themes apart from the immediate context, but which are often major themes in other satires.

Chapter I

The Proper Names of Satires 4 and 5

In the present chapter the proper names of the fourth and fifth satires will be examined as illustrations of their significance as minor themes. This examination is intended to demonstrate both the number of names used and the variety of minor themes suggested by the use of such names.

The fourth satire is a thrust at degeneracy in high places. It is aimed at the emperor Domitian and the degenerate senate so anxious to truckle to him. The satire itself is composed of two loosely joined parts. The first of these (vs. 1-27) is an attack upon the Egyptian upstart Crispinus for the extravagant sum paid for a mullet. The second and main part of the satire (vs. 37-154) is concerned with the assembly and deliberations of the senate to determine what is to be done with a huge fish caught in the Adriatic and presented to the Emperor. Many names occur. They may be classified by main divisions and subdivisions according to the specific characteristics of contemporary life which they recall.

The first of these is Immorality. As examples of sexual immorality Juvenal presents first historical characters; such, for instance, as Crispinus, an Egyptian upstart who rose to wealth and power.

> "Ecce iterum Crispinus ------
> monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
> a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
> deliciae; viduus tantum spernatur adulter."
> (4. 1-4)

In the same way Rubrius (4. 105) exemplifies the prevalence of sexual immorality among those of high station.[1]

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1. Wilson, op. cit., 51 Notes, footnote 2, reports the suggestion of a gloss that this Rubrius had an intrigue, perhaps with the wife of Domitian.

"nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
et tamen inprobior saturam scribente cinaedo."
(4.104-106)

Another phase of Immorality is the weakening of the moral strain. In the senate, especially, did the moral fiber of those in high places weaken. Servility and base flattery are exemplified here. As an example an historical character is again presented in the person of the same Crispinus who has just been mentioned.

"nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque decebat
Crispinum. quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni
crimine persona est?"
(4. 13-15)

Servility to the imperial will is scorned by the satirist. Such servility in leading figures is even more to be condemned. Pegasus,[2] a famous jurisconsult and later governor of several provinces, exemplifies such servility.

"----- primus clamante Liburno
'currite, iam sedit rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi."
(4.75-77)

Another such as Pegasus was Crispus, also an historical character, having been a consul under Nero, and in favor with both Vespasian and Domitian.

"venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite

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2. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 49-50.

ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saevitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
ille igitur numquam derexit bracchia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero."
(4. 81-91)

Another member of this servile senate was Acilius, identifiable only as the father of a consul who was put to death by Domitian.

"proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata; sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis."
(4. 94-98)

Personal indulgence is portrayed in the persons of Montanus, who was a frequenter of Nero's luxurious court, and of Crispinus.

"Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,"
(4.107)

and

"et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo
quantum vix redolent duo funera,"
(4.108f.)

The well sheltered military man is present in the person of Fuscus, who was <u>praefectus praetorio</u> under Domitian.

"et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa,"
(4.111f.)

Next, there is presented the person careful to give no offense. He is exemplified in the person of Veiento, who was praetor, and consul three times under Nero.

"et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,"
(4.113)

The flatterer and informer appears in the person of blind Catullus, who was consul under Domitian.

"et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae.
nemo magis rhombum stupuit; nam plurima dixit
in laevum conversus, at illi dextra iacebat
belua."
(4.113-121)

Veiento[3] is mentioned twice as a flatterer in speaking of the fish.

"non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi."
(4.123-127)

and

"---------- hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos."
(4.129f.)

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3. Wilson notes that A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento (Cf. Dessau, Inscr. Select. 1, 1010) was praetor, and consul three times under Nero, and lived as late as the reign of Nerva. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 52.

Montanus, too, is mentioned again as the flatterer, who, by the experience gained in the luxury of Nero's court, solves the problem of preparing the fish.

"----------absit ab illo
dedecus hoc' Montanus ait; 'testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
orgillam atque rotam citius properate, sed ex hoc
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'
vicit digna viro sententia. noverat ille
luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
iam mediae aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet."
(4.130-139)

A delator and flatterer, otherwise unknown, is Pompeius, who is also mentioned as a senator present at the deliberations.

"---------- saevior illo (i.e. Crispinus)
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,"
(4.100f)

In the characters here presented Juvenal has offered a panorama of immorality as it existed in the imperial circle. We now turn to types of persons exemplifying luxurious living. The first of such persons is Apicius, a wealthy person of the times of Augustus and Tiberius, whose name was proverbial for gourmandizing.

"---------- multa videmus
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius."
(4. 22f)

Domitian, too, referred to as Caesar is mentioned as having fish preserves.

"----------dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde

elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti."
(4. 48-52)

Montanus previously met as a flatterer is mentioned as one whose self-indulgence has made its mark on his physical appearance.

"Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,"
(4. 107)

He had been trained in the luxury of Nero's table, itself proverbial.

"----------'absit ab illo
dedecus hoc' Montanus ait---------
---------- noverat ille
luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis."
(4. 130-137)

Veiento appears as a connoisseur of fish.

"---------- hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos."
(4. 128f.)

The above names are those of persons notorious as exponents of luxury. Geographical names as well recall the luxury of Roman diet. The places where edibles and potables were sought for the wealthy are mentioned so often that they constitute in themselves a minor theme. Such, for example, is the Adriatic sea with its reputation for fine fish.[4]

'incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,"
(4. 39f.)

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4. The fisherman himself came from the district of Picenum; Cf. 4. 65-69.

Tracing the journey of the rhombus, two more places are mentioned, the sea of Azov, and the Black Sea, where such delicacies might be found.

> "---------- nec enim minor haeserat illis
> quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
> solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti
> desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues."
> (4. 42- 44)

Wine from Falernum was famous, and is here mentioned as the drink of Nero's revelling guests.

> "----------noverat ille
> luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
> iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
> arderet."
> (4. 136-139)

Certain places were known for the excellence of their oysters. Juvenal mentions three such places; Circeii, on the coast of Latium; the lacus Lucrinus near Baiae on the Bay of Naples; and Rutupiae, now Richborough, on the Southeast coast of England.

> "----nulli maior fuit usus edendi
> tempestate mea; Circeis nata forent an
> Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
> ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu,
> et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini."
> (4. 139-143)

A characteristic of luxury-loving people is the comparatively extravagant sums they expend for their delicacies. The satirist inveighs against such people, two of whom are mentioned in this satire. Crispinus was the Egyptian upstart whose extravagant purchases were made under Domitian, and Apicius was a man of great wealth and greater prodigality under both Augustus and Tiberius.

"----------multa videmus
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. hoc tu
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro?"
(4. 22-24)

The number of slaves owned often served as an index of a person's wealth, and was a concrete sign of the material luxury in which he lived. The fourth satire has only one example of such a criterion. Here Liburnus refers to a Liburnian slave who is used as a praeco.

"----------primus clamante Liburno
'currite, iam sedit' rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus,"
(4. 75-77)

As a contrast to the vices of the age, Juvenal cites examples of ancient Roman virtues. Ancient Romans are mentioned and praised as foils to the moderns whose vices announce the degradation of the city. Sometimes, however, Juvenal commends Romans of a later day, and attributes to them the virtues of earlier Rome. One historical example is presented by Juvenal in the fourth satire; that of L. Junius Brutus, the patriot who pretended madness in order to free Rome from Tarquinius Superbus.

"------quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato inponere regi."
(4. 102f.)

Foreigners in Rome constitute another type of minor theme. To Juvenal the destruction of Roman virtue was due in a great measure to the increased immigration. Foreigners from many parts of the Roman empire were setting up their own religious cults, spreading their lax and cynical attitude towards life and morals, and thus undermining Roman virtue. An example of such a foreigner is found in the fourth satire, the Egyp-

tian upstart Crispinus.

"----------hoc tu
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro?"
(4. 23f.)

Concrete evidence of a woeful change in public life was close at hand for Juvenal. The increase in tyranny, the many victims of such tyranny, and the rise and prevalence of informers clearly indicated the abuses of power, and the disintegration of governmental institutions. An historical example of a tyrant is presented in the person of Domitian, whom Juvenal calls a bald Nero.

"cum iam semianimum lacerraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,"
(4. 37f.)

Domitian, again mentioned in the advice given to the tyrant by Montanus as one capable of enjoying the most petty adulation.

"----------'sed ex hoc
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'"
(4. 134f.)

An historical example of victims of such tyranny is presented in the name of the Lamiae, an old plebeian family of the Aelian gens.

"-----hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede rubenti."
(4. 154)

An historical examples of an informer is presented in the person of Palfurius, who had been removed from the senate by Vespasian.

'si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
Quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat."
(4. 53-55)

Catullus, mentioned as an example of the weakening of the moral strain was also noted as an informer.

" et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,"
(4. 53-55)

Another such informer who is also otherwise unknown is represented by Pompeius.

"----------saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,"
(4. 109f.)

A great many proper names without significance as moral themes are used as allusions in the manner of the rhetorical schools. Some, too, are used as illustrative examples,. They serve as incidental adornment and to retain interest. They are best classified into a miscellaneous group according to source. An important group are the geographical names. Apulia, which alludes to the cheapness of land in Apulia.

"----------provincia tanti
vendit agros, sed maiores Apulia vendit."
(4. 26f.)

The founding of the town of Ancona by Greeks from Syracuse ca. B.C. 390 is recalled.

"incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,"
(4. 39f.)

Numidia provided bears for the venationes held by Domitian at his Alban villa.

> "profuit ergo nihil misero, quod comminus ursos
> figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
> venator."
> (4. 99-101)

Another such geographical reference is to the bridge in the town of Aricia,[5] on the via Appia in Latium. The heavy traffic, slowing up on bridges and hills offered the beggars there good opportunities for their work.

> "dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
> blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae."
> (4. 117f.)

Cilicia appears as the native country of the gladiator praised by Catullus.

> "------sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus"
> (4. 121)

Alba Longa,[6] though destroyed at a very early date was supposed to have a fire burning, though considered of less importance than that of Vesta in Rome.

> "---------- et Vestam colit Alba minorem,"
> (4. 61)

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5. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 52.
6. Ibid., Notes 49.

Senators were often summoned to Domitian's Alban villa where the emperor spent a great deal of time. The Alban villa is mentioned twice.

> "profuit ergo nihil miseto, quod comminus urnos
> figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
> venator."
> (4. 99-101)

and

> "surgitur et misso proceres exire iubentur
> consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
> traxerat"
> (4. 144-146)

Enemies of Rome are frequently mentioned by Juvenal. Fuscus[7] saw service against the Dacians in A.D. 86. Three years before this Domitian had conducted a campaign against the Chatti, a warlike tribe of Germany. There is no record of a campaign under Domitian against the Sigambri, another warlike tribe of Germany.

> "et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
> Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa,"
> (4. 111f.)

and

> "surgitur et misso proceres exire iubentur
> consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
> traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos
> tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
> dicturus,"
> (4. 144-148)

The Palatine hill at Rome with its Palace is also presented as a minor theme. Domitian spent much money on improving this palace.[8]

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7. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 54.
8. Maclean, op. cit., 80.

"qualis tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putamus
inluperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem
exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae,
purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,"
(4. 28-31)

The frequent usage of Roma is usually to designate the Roman people.

"cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,"
(4. 37f)

Mythological references are frequent in the satire. The first example is the invocation to Calliope, the muse of epic poetry. Such an invocation is, of course, a part of the common stock of rhetorical devices.

"incipe, Calliope; licet et considere. non est
cantandum, res vera agitur:"
(4. 34f.)

Mock-heroic is the use of the mythological reference here presented in the name Pierides, as designating the Muses.

"----------narrate, puellae
Pierides . prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas."
(4. 35f.)

Display of rhetorical erudition is manifested in the allusion to the temple of Venus in Ancona.

"incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,"
(4. 39f.)

At Alba Longa a fire which was supposed to have been brought from Troy

was kept burning "though considered of less importance (minorem) than that of Vesta in Rome."[9]

> "utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
> ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,"
> (4. 60f.)

Bellona, not to be confused with the war deity, refers to the deity worshipped under the same name whose cult was brought to Rome B.C. 90. from Cappadocia.

> "non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
> percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
> omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi."
> (4. 123-125)

Prometheus, too, is mentioned as a potter having made the first men out of clay.

> "debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus."
> (4. 133)

Three names, otherwise unknown, are also used as minor themes. Thus Titius and Seius are typical for ordinary people. They are probably of literary invention.[10]

> "nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque, decebat
> Crispinum."
> (4. 13f.)

In the same way, Arviragus is probably of literary invention, and exemplifies a typical British enemy.

> "non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
> percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
> omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi.

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9. Wilson, op.cit., Notes 69.
10. Ibid., Notes 46f.

regem aliquem capies,aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus."
(4. 123-127)

Thus, in the fourth satire, by introducing names of historical characters, names of places, names drawn from mythology, and names invented for the specific purpose, Juvenal has brought vividly before his reader a picture of aspects of wide flung interests of his day as he centers them around a trivial incident in the life of the imperial court.

The subject of the fifth satire is the niggardly treatment of a client by a patron.[11] The system wher by poor men were willing to dispose of their independence for food aroused the contempt of the poet. He inveighs against the client for enduring the cruel treatment, and suggests the greater profit of honest toil. The satire is mainly a description of the meal to which the client is bidden. The contrast between the food and drink served to the patron and his cronies, and that served to the client is strongly drawn. The luxury and penury of food is clearly presented, suggesting many minor themes.

The first of the vices attacked by the satirist in this satire is immorality. As examples of this vice Juvenal presents two persons of literary invention, Virro, a mean patron, and Trebius, his poor client. The immorality of these men lies in the importance they attach to wealth. The amount of money possessed is the standard of polite society. Trebius is the poor client getting little from his rich patron Virro. But, if Trebius were to acquire much money, he would be an honored guest of Virro.

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11. Macleane, op. cit. 90f., is of the opinion that the word client does not fit Trebius and his kind; he avers that the system of patronage-clientage died with the Republic under which it flourished.

"quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret hommucio, quantus,
ex nihilo quantus fieres Virronis amicus.
'da Trebio, pone ad Trebium. vis, frater, ab ipsis
illibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos e tis fratres.
(5. 138-157)

The next vice isluxury of the table. It is presented through recalling the source of foods and wines. From the Alban mountains and Setia come expensive wines.[12]

"cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae," (i.e. patron)
(5.33-35)

Snow is imported from Thrace and used to cool boiled water. Nero is credited with the invention of this process.[13] The distance from which this snow was brought made it a luxury.

"si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:"
(5. 49f.)

Olive oil was another luxury of the table. That from Venafrum, a town in Samnium, was highly regarded.

"ipse (i.e. patron) Venafrano pisces perfundit:"
(5. 86)

Fine fish, as has been seen from satire four, were also regarded as

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12. Fine wines as a minor theme occur also in Horace. E.g. Od. I. 9,7; Sat. II. 8.16.
13. Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 58.

luxuries. The mullet was a favorite delicacy, and here we find that Corsica as well as Tauromenium, on the east coast of Sicily, were famous for them.

> "nullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
> Tauromenitanae rupes, quando orne peractum est
> et iam defecit nostrum mare,"
> (5. 92-94)

The Tuscan sea, too, was ransacked for such piscatorial delicacies.

> "---nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem."
> (5. 96)

Another sea food that was highly regarded was the eel,[14] which was often kept in the *vivaria*. Those on Virro's table, come from the Mediterranean around Sicily.

> "Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
> gurgite de Siculo;"
> (5. 99f.)

Truffles, a dish of the mushroom species, were considered delicacies. Africa is here said to send the best truffles to Rome.

> "o Libye disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
> (5.119)

In addition to geographical places named for the luxuries which they produced. Juvenal presents the picture of an epicure in the person of Virro, a name of literary invention, who, with his honored guests,

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14. Martial mentions the eels from Sicily. Cf. XIII. 90.1 "quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo."

partake of the highly esteemed eel and excellent apples.

> "Virroni lamprena datur, quae maxima venit
> gurgite de Siculo;"
> (5. 99f.)

and

> "Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
> poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
> qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
> credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:"
> (5. 149-152)

Another epicure, Alledius, otherwise unknown, has a penchant for truffles.

> "'tibi habe frumentum' Alledius inquit
> 'o Libye, dirumpe boves, dum tubera mittas.'
> (5. 116f.)

Luxury was manifested, too, in costly dishes from places famed for them. An example of this is introduced by Juvenal in the name of Saguntum,[15] earthenware from which town, was in high repute.

> "inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohorti
> pulpa Saguntina fervet cenantibus ingens."
> (5. 28f.)

Bejewelled dishes, too, were a mark of luxury, and the mean patron Virro sips from such goblets.

> "----------ipse capaces
> Heliadum crustas et inaequalem berullo
> Virro tenet phialas:"
> (5. 37-39)

and

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15. Cf. Mayor, op. cit., I. 248; Cf. also Wright, op. cit., 57.

"nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quae in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae."
(5. 43-45)

In addition to geographical names, and names of literary invention Juvenal also introduces, in connection with luxury, names drawn from mythology. An example of this is the name Heliades, which is an allusion to the Heliades, whose tears for the death of their brother Phaethon were hardened into amber. Amber, considered a luxury, is designated here.

"----------ipse capaces
Heliadum crusta et inaequales beryllo
Virro tenet phialas:
(5. 37-38)

Another phase of luxury was the ownership of slaves. As has been pointed out in the analysis of satire four, the number and kind of slaves owned served as an index to the wealth of a person, and indicated the material luxury in which he lived. Black slaves from Africa, denoted by the terms Cantulus and Maurus served often as runners and conchmen.[16] They were, however, Juvenal points out, good enough for acting as attendants upon the lowly client.

"----------tibi pocula cursor
Cantulus dabit aut nigri maurus onos 'Mauri
et cui per medium nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:"
(5. 52-55)

and

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16. Macleane, op. cit., 36.

"——quod cum ita sit, tu Cnetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities."
(5. 59f.)

For serving himself, however, and his honored guests the patron spent a fortune for a handsome lad from Asia.

"flos Asiae ante ipsum pretio (i.e. rich patron) maiore paratus
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola."
(5. 56-59)

As in satire four, by contrast with the vices of the age, Juvenal cites examples of ancient Roman virtues. As an example of ancient generosity, Juvenal introduces the names of three historical characters,[17] who, though not of ancient times, exemplify a virtue no longer existing. These are Seneca, Piso, and Cotta.

"ipsi (i.e. mean patron) pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
'nemo potit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria."
(5. 107-111)

Another form of ancient virtue was moral purity, which Juvenal illustrates by the introduction of two historical characters, Thrasea Paetus, and his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus. Both were patriots enough to be of independent mind in the senate under Nero. Their hatred of the emperor's tyranny prompted them to celebrate the birthdays of the tyrannicides, Brutus and Cassius.

"quale (i.e. vinum) coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus,"
(5. 36f.)

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17. Macleane, op. cit., 100.

Still another phase of ancient virtue was the hatred of tyranny. To illustrate this Juvenal introduces three historical names; those of the Bruti, Marcus and Decius, and Caius Cassius, all of whom were leaders in the plot against Caesar.

> "quale (i.e. vinum) coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
> Brutorum et Cassi natalibus,"
> (5. 36f.)

The many names illustrating the institution of patronage-clientage also constitute a minor theme. To illustrate an imperial patron Juvenal mentions Augustus, called Caesar, who extended patronage to a few court jesters.[18]

> "si potes ille pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
> Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,"
> (5. 3f.)

Seneca, Piso, and Cotta, though of a later day, exemplified generous treatment of their clients.

> "'nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
> a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
> largiri; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
> maior habebatur donandi gloria."
> (5. 108-111)

By contrast with such examples of generous patronage, Virro a name of literary invention, exemplifies meanness in the treatment of clients.

> "----------quando propinat
> Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis
> pocula?"
> (5. 127-129)

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18. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 55.

As Augustus proved to be a generous patron, so did his clients maintain a modicum of self-respect. Two historical examples of such clients are given by Juvenal. Sarmentus and Gabba, who were jesters at the court of Augustus.

> "si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
> Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,"
> (5. 3f.)

Another type of client, however, is portrayed by the name Trebius, which is of literary invention. This client suffers indignities at the hands of a mean patron, yet is unable or unwilling to terminate the relationship.

> "---------habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
> debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
> tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,"
> (5. 19-21)

A further indignity offerred the client by the mean patron is in his being amused by the client's children. The client's wife,[19] Mycale, which is a name of literary invention, by her fecundity has thus afforded the patron contemptuous amusement.

> "iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
> sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres
> in gremium patris fundat semel, ipse loquaci
> gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
> adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
> ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans."
> (5. 140-145)

A typical vice of Juvenal's day, legacy-hunting, constitutes another minor theme. As an example of a person whose wealth draws will hunters

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19. Cf. Mayor, op. cit., I. 266; Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 63; Mayor's suggestion is here accepted.

in the hope of a legacy, Juvenal mentions Aurelia, who is otherwise unknown.

> "instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc
> quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat."
> (5. 97f.)

As in satire four an additional minor theme is formed by the allusions to foreigners in Rome. The first two of these exemplify the contempt in which Africans, denoted by the names Gaetulus, and Maurus, were held.

> "----------tibi pocula cursor
> Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
> et cui per medium nolis occurrere noctem,
> clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:"
> (5. 52-55)

and

> "---quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
> respice, cum sities. nescit tot milibus emptus
> pauperibus miscere puer;"
> (5.59-61)

Foreigners from the East, however, were considered as clever as they were unscrupulous. The beauty of some slaves from Asia commanded high prices.

> "flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
> quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
> et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
> frivola."
> (5. 56-59)

Names of poets, philosophers, artists, orators, actors, titles of literary works, and characters in literary works are of frequent occurrence in Juvenal. The training of the schools made well known the

writers of Greece and Rome; thus the frequency of allusions to belles-lettres becomes a type of minor theme. As an example of this type Juvenal introduces the name of a character appearing in the Aeneid of Vergil, Iarba, in preference to whom Dido chose Aeneas.

> "nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
> a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
> ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae."
> (5. 43-45)

Aeneas, too, is mentioned, in Juvenal's parody of Vergil Aen. IV. 328-329 "sé quis mihi parvolus aula luderet Aeneas" spoken by Dido.

> "----------dominus tamen et domini rex
> si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvolus aula
> luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo;"
> (1. 137-139)

The frequent allusions to the degeneracy of governmental institutions, as has been mentioned in connection with satire four, constitute a minor theme. Juvenal introduces, as an example of this, two historical characters in the persons of Thrasea and Helvidius, whose independence of mind, led them both to death, the former under Nero in A.D. 66, and the latter under Vespasian.[20]

> "quale (i.e. vinum) coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
> Brutorum et Cassi natalibus."
> (5. 36f.)

As was the case in satire four, most many proper names constituting minor themes are best classified in a miscellaneous grouping according to source. The frenzied dances of the Corybantes or priests of Cybele

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20. Wright, op. cit., 57.

are recalled in connection with the results produced by the bad wine given to the clients.

> "---------- vinum quod sucida nolit
> lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis."
> (5. 24f.)

Tullius and Ancus, kings of early Rome, are mentioned in connection with their wealth.[21]

> "flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
> quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci"
> (5. 56f.)

The names of Micipsa,[22] and Boccar[23] are introduced to designate the people whom they represented. Micipsa was a king of Numidia, and the plural use of the name denotes the Numidians or Africans in general. Baccar was a king of Mauretania, and the use of his name here designates a negro.

> "----- illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
> canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
> propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,"
> (5. 88-90)

The name of Claudius is introduced recalling the fact that he was given poison, by Agrippina, concealed in a mushroom.

> "vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
> boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
> ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit."
> (5. 146-148)

Mythological allusions also belong to this miscellaneous group of minor

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21. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 58.
22. Cf. Mayor, op. cit., I. 259.
23. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 60.

themes. An example is the name, Ganymede, referring to the beautiful cup-bearer of the gods, and effectively joined to Gaetulum, denoting the black runner pressed into service as a waiter.

> "----------quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem respice, cum sities."
> (5. 58-60)

Jupiter, too, is introduced, denoting the sky.[24]

> "'scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
> coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
> Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
> Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo'"
> (5. 76-79)

The legend of the huge boar slain by Meleager is another example of such a minor theme. This allusion offers a comparison with the boar served to the selfish patron.

> "anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
> altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
> spumat aper."
> (5. 114-116)

In the same way the story of Hercules' successful encounter with Cacus is recalled as the poet taunts the servile client.

> "duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus
> et ponere foris, si quid tempteveris unquam
> hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina."
> (5. 125-127)

Another example of this type of minor theme is afforded by the mention

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24. Cf. Horace, Od. I. 1.25 "sub Jove frigido".

of the excellent apples which grow the year around on theigardens of Alcinous, the King of the Phaeacoans, and the prized apples guarded by the Hesperides, which apples *Heracles* was sent to steal. The ancients placed the gardens of the Hesperides in Africa.[25]

> "Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
> poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
> qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
> credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:"
> (5. 149-152)

As in satire four, Rome and its topography offer illustrative minor themes. For the sake of convenience the words Roma and Romanus have been included here as unclassified,unless there is any special significance attached to their usage. An example of this type of theme is offerred in the word Latina, which signifies the Via Latina, leading from Rome through the hilly (clivosae) district of Tusculum.[26]

> "————————————tibi pocula cursor
> Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
> et cui per medias nolis occurrere noctem,
> clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:"
> (5. 52-55)

In the same way, mention of the Esquiline and Viminal recalls to mind that these hills were covered with palaces and gardens of the rich. Being in the northeast part of the city, they were exposed to the cold.

> "'scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
> coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
> Esquilias,"
> (5. 76-78)

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25. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 103.
26. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., 22.

Mention of the Tiber recalls the fact that the fish caught there were mean in comparison with the luxuries from distant seas. The fish served to the client, having swum through the filth of the sewers, had arrived at the very heart of the city, the Subura.

> "vos (i.e. clients) anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
> aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
> vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca
> et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae."
> (5. 56-59)

Rome and the Romans are mentioned to designate the center of civilization.

> "flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
> quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
> et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
> frivola."
> (5. 56-59)

and

> "----------illud enim ventris datur alveolis quod
> canna Licipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
> propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,"
> (5. 88-90)

As in satire four certain geographical names belong to this type of minor theme. An example of such is the mention of Beneventanus, which refers to a cobbler, Vatinius, originally of Beneventum, who obtained great influence at Nero's court. A cup of four sprouts was named after him, Calix Vatinius, from its resemblance to his long nose.[27]

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27. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 58.

"tu (i.e. client) Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
siccabis caligem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro."
(5. 46-48)

The mention of Charybdis is the same type of theme. The waters between Italy and Sicily, where the rocks Scylla and Charybdis were, provided desirable fish. To satisfy the demand the fishermen defied Charybdis, the dread of sailors in mythology.

"contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim:"
(5. 102)

In recalling an old Etruscan custom which had been transferred to Rome another such theme is formed. The bulla was worn by free-born Roman boys until the assumption of the toga virilis. The wealthy wore bullae of gold, while leather sufficed for the children of the poor.

"----------quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?"
(5. 163-165)

In introducing an allusion to astronomy another minor theme of this miscellaneous grouping is formed. The client was up and off to his patron's abode while the stars were still out. The use of astronomy, exemplified in Bootes, the herdsman, is an example of the display of erudition characteristic of Silver Latinity. The influence was brought about by the schools of rhetoric.

"-------aut illo tempore quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae."
(5. 22f.)

In the fifth satire, as in the fourth, through the introduction

of names drawn from history, geography, mythology, and through the use of names of literary invention, Juvenal has presented vividly to the reader a picture of the wide interests of his day, as he centers them around a banquet given by a patron.

We have thus shown that in satires four and five many names have been used to illustrate the main subject of each satire and to add emphasis to the exposition of abstract subjects. Such names, drawn from the realms of history, mythology, and geography recalled to the reader the special significance associated with the proper names. Where fictitious names were needed to stamp a character not otherwise existent, Juvenal invented such names, as for instance, the patron Virro, and the client Trebius. Finally, certain names are used, the identity of which is not known apart from the context with which they are associated.

By such usage many pictures, constituting minor themes, have been drawn. Immorality is depicted in many phases, illustrated by sexual vices, the weakening of the moral strain, the fatal striving for wealth, and the degeneration of independence of mind. Another picture is suggested by the various phases of luxury described; food and drink, costly dishes and goblets, and high priced slaves to act as serving boys. In contrast with these pictures the portrait of ancient Roman virtues is presented, manifested by such qualities as generosity, moral purity, and a deep hatred of tyranny. Another minor theme is constituted by the views given of patronage-clientage, depicting the meanness of the patron as well as the sordid servility of the client. Slightly

different from this picture is that of legacy hunting, which forms another minor theme. A very significant theme is offered in the presentation of the picture of foreigners in Rome. Frequent mention of names associated with literature, art, philosophy,and drama, offering a broad view of the intellectual world, forms another type of minor theme. The particularly dark picture drawn of the collapse of governmental institutions forms a frequently recurring minor theme. Finally many miscellaneous sketches and allusions not included in the above form minor themes of varied contents.

Of the above gallery of themes suggested by proper names, some contribute directly to the main themes of satires four and five, and others are entirely extraneous. Contributory themes to the fourth satire are those of luxury and the collapse of governmental institutions, which show not only the extravagant luxuriousness of the emperor and his councillors, but also the carping servility of the senate to the imperial well. Themes extraneous to the main subject of the fourth satire are those of immorality, ancient virtues, legacy hunting, foreigners in Rome, and those connected with literature, art, drama, and philosophy. Of these themes, several later become the main themes of other satires. Immorality is the dominant theme[28] in satires two, six, and nine. The themes centering around literature, art, drama,and philosophy received the full notice of the poet in satire seven, which anticipates the dawn of better days for literature.

Themes contributory to the main subject of the fifth satire are those of luxury and patronage-clientage. Extraneous themes are those

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28. Cf. Duff, op. cit., 609-612.

of ancient virtues, such as generosity and moral purity, legacy-hunting, foreigners in Rome, literature, art, drama, and philosophy, and of the collapse of governmental institutions.

By this examination of the proper names of satires four and five, used as minor themes, it is evident that such themes give color to the main subjects of these satires, and lend an effective emphasis to the context of which they are part. It will be the purpose of subsequent chapters to list the proper names occurring in the sixteen satires which suggest such minor themes under proper classifications with specific references.

Chapter II

Immorality

The age of Juvenal, if the satirist is to be believed, attained the climax of corruption, and posterity would be unable to carry depravity any further.[1] The ideal of Juvenal lay in the past, in the days when Curius, consul three times, would return home from the hills, to a simple meal served on earthen ware.[2] Judged by this standard the moral level of Juvenal's Rome was low indeed. The departure from the rigid moral code of former times took many forms. The sacredness of marriage vows was diminished; adultery and more vicious forms of faithlessness are copiously illustrated, not only among the lower classes, but even among the nobles, degenerate and contemptuous of convention.

I Sexual Immorality

1. Adultery

Historical: Accius (6.70), a tragic actor; Archigenes (6.236), a physician whose attendance for feigned illness prevents the entrance of a father, and allows the entrance of an adulterer to the bedchamber of the daughter;[3] Appia (6.385), referring to the adultery of a feminine member of the Appius family; Augusta i.e. Messalina (6.118, 10.329-331, 333), the wife of Claudius; Bathyllus (6.63), an actor; Catulla (10.322), a poor woman given to adultery; Catullus (4.113), a profligate informer; Claudius (6.115), the deceived husband of Messalina; Cleopatra (2.109), known for her immorality; Clodius, (2.27), known for his intrigue with

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1. Juv. 1, 145 2. S. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, 65. 3. Juv. 6, 235-241.

Caesar's wife; Crispinus (4.1), the Egyptian upstart whose profligacy especially angered Juvenal; Eppia (6.82, 104), the wife of a senator; Gryalus (6.81), a gladiator, Fabulla (2.68), a well-known adulteress; Glaphyrus (6.77), a musician; Hiberina (6.53), an adulteress with many men; Julia (6.32), the niece of Domitian, with whom he committed adultery; Lamiae (6.385), a noble family of Rome; Lentulus (6.80), a deceived father; Oppia (10.220, 322), a rich adulteress; Paris (6.87), an actor; Pollio (6.387), a poet; Rubrius[4] (4.105), a degenerate senator, convicted of a nameless offense; Sardanapallus (10.362), the last King of Syria, given to luxury; Sergius (Sergiolus) (6.105, 112), the gladiator; Servilia (10.319), an adulteress using her wealth to further her immorality; Tuccia (6.64), an adulteress with an actor; Urbicius (6.71), an actor; Veiento (6.113), the deceived husband of Eppia (6.83, 104).

Mythological: Endymion (10.318), applied scornfully to the handsome youth whose future will be given to adultery; Hyacinthus (6.110), also used scornfully of gladiators whose profession alone makes them handsome to married ladies; Juppiter (6.9), an ironic reference to the immoralities of this deity; Mars (6.9) used with Juppiter in the same sense; Semiramis[5] (2.105) referring

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4. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 57
5. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 35

to the voluptuousness of the mythical queen of Ninevah.

Unidentified: Aelia (6.72), a poor woman in love with an actor; Ambrosius (6.77), a flute player; Aufidius (9.25), known for his adultery; Carfinia (2,69); Echion (6.76), a musician; filia Largae (14.25), an adulteress; Ursidius (6.38, 42), an adulterer.

2. Sex Perversion

Historical: Hister (2, 58), who names as his heir the freedman who had served his lust; Maura (10, 224), an infamous sexual pervert; Nero, (10, 308), the emperor; Rhodopes (9, 4), a well-known courtesan; Saufeia (6.320), mentioned as a sexual pervert.

Geographical: Armenius Zalaces (2.164), an Armenian youth, who yielded to the perverted sex desires of a tribune.

Unidentified: Gracchus (2, 117), who entered into a mock marriage with a musician; Hamillus (10.224), a teacher who misused his pupils; Medullina (6.322), mentioned as a sexual pervert; Tullia (6.307), named as a wanton.

3. Incest

Historical: Agrippa (6.158), the brother of Berenices with whom he was said to have committed incest; Berenices (6.156), with whom her brother Agrippa committed incest.

4. Prostitutes

Historical: Pollita (2,68) mentioned as a lewd woman; Proculla (2.68), mentioned also as a lewd woman.

5. General sexual licentiousness

Geographical: Aegyptos (15.45), as being profligate; Canopus (15.46), famed for its licentiousness; moenia Lagi (6.83), referring to Alexandria as a city given to sexual vices; Nilum (6.83), alluding to the immorality of Egypt; Ostia (8, 171), as renowned for its immorality.

Of literary invention: Apula (6.74), as illustrating love for an actor; Chrysogonus (6.74), a singer whose voice is injured by excessive sexual relations; Hedymeles (6.393), a musician; Heliodorus (6.373), a physician referred to as used for castrating; Peribomius (2.16), an obvious dissipate; Phiale (10, 238), a female drunkard, the inheritor of an estate.

Unidentified: Bibula (6.142), desired for her beauty; Calvina (3.133),a woman of the nobility; Catiena (3.133), a woman of the nobility; Chio (3,136), a prostitute; Gillo (1,40), a profiter because of his sexual agreeability; Hispulla (6.74), a lover of comic actors; Proculeius (1.40), like Gillo a profiter according to the sexual satisfaction given by him; Quintilla, (7,75), the mistress of Numitor (7.74); Sertorius (6.142), as inflamed to marriage by physical beauty; Thymele (6.66), a country girl vitiated with lust for an actor; Varillus (2,22), called infamous.

II Effeminacy of Dress

Historical: Creticus (2, 67), a prosecutor of harlots, dressed in a luxurious sheer gown.

III Women in the Arena

Historical: Hevia (1,22), a masculine woman who fought with an Etrurian boar.

IV Weakening of the Moral Strain

Historical: Acilius (4.84), whose son, having incurred the jealousy of Domitian, was put to death;[6] here Acilius is mentioned as a flattering senator; Catullus (4.113), a senator active as an informer; Clodius, (6.345), known for his irreverence; Crispinus (4.14, 103), the Egyptian upstart; Crispus (4,81), a man of ability, but fearful of Domitian; Fabius (8, 14) an effeminate noble; Fuscus (4, 112), a military leader given to sloth; Graechus (2, 143), a noble appearing in the arena as a gladiator; Lateranus (8, 167), a young man of military age yielding to effeminate luxury; Maura (6.307, 308), an irreverent woman[7]; Montanus (4, 107), a luxury-loving senator; Otho (2, 99) alluding to the effeminate habits of the general who became Emperor; Pegasus (4, 77), the prefect of the city; Pompeius (4.11), a senator known as an informer; Saufeia (9.117), known for her drunkenness; Veiento (Fabricius)(4.113, 123, 129), a truckling senator

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6. Macleane, Op. cit., 85
7. Cf. supra Sex-perversion

Of literary invention: Basilus (10.222), a defrauder; Cretonius (14. 92), a spendthrift; Cynthia (6.7), the literary name for the sweetheart of Propertius, Hostia; Rutilus (11.2, 5), a pauper epicure.

Unidentified: Calvina (3.133), a woman of the nobility; Catiena (3.133), another woman of the nobility; Hirrus (10.222), a tutor who cheated his pupils; Varillus (2.22), called degraded.

V The Power of Money

Historical: Cenaennia[8] (6.136), esteemed because of the big dowry she brought to her husband; Croesus (328), mentioned as wealthy.

Of literary invention: Virro[9] (5.134), a wealthy patron; Trebius (5.135), a client of no social esteem because of his poverty.

VI Un-Roman Work[10]

Unidentified: Artorius (3.29), referred to as any Roman willing to degrade himself for a mere living in Rome; Catulus (3.30) used as Artorius.

VII Poisoners

Historical: Agrippina (6.620), the poisoner of her husband, the emperor Claudius; Caesonia (6.6, 16) the wife of Caligula, who poisoned him; Lucusta (1.71), the famed woman poisoner who mixed the poison used to

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8. Cf. Friedländer, op. cit., IV, 319.
9. Juv. 5. 136. "O nummi, vobis hunc praestat (ie. Virro) honorem".
10. The Romans considered certain types of work below the dignity of a Roman citizen, and fit only for slaves and freedmen.

kill Claudius; Pontia (6.638), the wife of Petronius, who after his death at the command of Nero, poisoned her two children.

VIII Murderesses

Mythological: Belides (6.655), the grand-daughters of Belus, mythical king of Argos, murdered their husbands; Clytaemnestra (6.656), the wife and murderess of Agamemnon; Colchis (6.643), i.e. Medea, daughter of Aeetes, king of Colchis, and murderess of her brother, her two children, and poisoner of Jason's young wife; Eriphyla (6.655), the wife of Amphiaraus who induced him to join the expedition against Thebes where he lost his life; Progne (6.644), the murderess of her son Itys to punish his father Tereus.

IX Love Philtres

Historical: Caesonia (6.616) (vide supra), the wife of Caligula who poisoned him by administering excessively of a love potion.

Geographical: Thessalum (6.610), drugs, witches, and potions of Thessaly were proverbial.[11]

X Women as Lawyers

Of literary invention: Manilia (6.243), an offensive woman, ready to act as attorney for plaintiff or defendant.

XI Pride of Birth[12]

Historical: Brutus (8.182), this ancient and honor-

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11. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 155.
12. Juvenal, in satire eight, pictures pride of birth as a type of immorality.

honorable name, dating from the first consulship after the expulsion of the Tarquins was a permit to commit acts otherwise inexcuseable; Catilina (8.231), recalling the disgrace of an honorable line; Cethegus (8.231), the fellow conspirator of Catiline also dishonoring his name; Cornelia (6.167), whose pride of birth destroyed its value; Drusi (8.40), a distinguished family of old proudly, but vainly, flaunted by Rubellius Blandus (8.39-40); Fabius (8.14, 191), whose descendant dishonors his lineagy by his viciousness; Gracchus (8.201)(cf. supra p.47), disgracing his name by appearing as a retiarius; Gracchi (6.168), the two famous Gracchi, Tiberius and Caius; Hannibal (6.170), named as an ancestor; Julius (8.42), referring to the famous Julian family; Lentulus (8.187), a patrician who turned actor, becoming 'infamis'[13]; Mamerci (8.192), a patrician family of the Aemelia gens[14]; Nero (8.72), Rubellius Blandus (8.39, 40), the degenerate descendant of the Drusi, boasting of his lineage; Volesi (8.182), a famous name, one of whom, Valerius Poplicola, was associated with Brutus in the first consulship after the expulsion of the Tarquins[15]; Syphax (6.170), king of the Massaesylians, and conquered by Masinissa 203 B. C., used as an ancestor of a proud woman.

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13. Macleane, op. cit., 203.
14. Ibid., 203.
15. Ibid., p. 202.

Mythological: Cecropis (8.46), the mythical founder of Athens, claimed as an ancestor; Picus (8.131), an early mythical king of Italy, scornfully suggested as an invented ancestor; Prometheus (8.133), one of the sons of the Earth, suggested also as an assumed ancestor; Teucri (8.56), used in an attempt to trace back a lineage to Aeneas; Titanis (8.132), referring back to the Titans as well chosen ancestors; Trojugenae (1.100, 181), as in Teucri (supra), an attempt to trace one's ancestry from Aeneas.

Unidentified: Pontious (8.1, 75), the person to whom the satire on the futility of birth is addressed.

XII Destruction of Religion

1. Worship of Religious Cults

a. Egyptian: Anubis (6.534), introduced with the worship of Isis, with which deity Anubis was associated; Io[16](6.526), originally an Argive deity but confounded by the Romans with Isis, the Egyptian; Isis (6.529; 9.22, 12, 28, 13, 93), an Egyptian deity popular at Rome; Osiris (6.541, 8.29), worshipped as the husband of Isis.

b. Greek: Cotytto (2.92), originally a Thracian deity, imported into Greece, and thence to Sicily.

c. Italian: Bellona (6.512), alluded to as "furens"; Cybeles (2.111), with the epithet "turpis".

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16. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 149.

d. Jewish: Judaea (6.543), as one who sold the secrets of the Law of Moses; Judaei(6.547), as venders of soothing dreams; Solymae (6.544), denoting Jerusalem.[17]

e. Geographical: Aegyptus (6.527, 15, 2), mentioned as the home of strange religious cults; Delphi (6.555), referring to the oracle there which was silent; Meroe (6.528), a kingdom between the Nile and Astaboras, where holy water was secured for the worship of Isis; Phrygius (2.115, 6, 516), alluding to the eunuch priests from Phrygia associated with the worship of Bellona; Tiberis (6.523), where the Egyptian votaries purified themselves[18].

2. Popularity of Astrologers and Soothsayers

Historical: Petosiris (6.58), the oldest Egyptian astrologer; Thrasyllus (6.576), there were two astrologers of this name, father and son, of whom the father was intimate with Tiberius.[19]

Geographical: Armenius (6.550), representing fortune tellers from the East, revealing the future through the entrails of birds and beasts; Chaldaei (6.553), Chaldaeus (10.94), referring to astrologers from Asia; Commagenus (6.550),like Armenius representing Eastern

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17. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 150.
18. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 148.
19. Ibid., 150

fortune tellers; Commagene was a Roman province since A. D. 73;[20] Indae (6.585), representing Eastern seers; Phryx (6.585), like Indae, denoting Eastern seers.

3. Consulting Seers and Astrologers:

Historical: Otho (6.559), the general and later Emperor.

Of literary invention: Tanaquil (6.566), denoting a wife consulting an astrologer about the death of her mother and husband.[21]

XIII Degeneracy of Nobles

Historical: Brutus (8.182), a degenerate youth descended from the first consul, Brutus; Capito (8.93), a noble-born governor degraded for extortion from the Cilicians[22]; Catilina (8.231), the disgracer of the Sergia gens; Cethegus (8.231), who dishonored the Cornelia gens; Fabii (8.191), a noble line disgraced by descendants turned actors; Gracchus (2.143, 8, 201, 210), a noble dishonoring his name by appearing as a gladiator; Hippia (6.82, 104), a woman married to a senator and engaging in open adultery with an actor, Paris (6.87); Lateranus (8.147, 151, 167), consul, and of the gens Claudia, disgracing his position and name by driving his own coach; Lentulus (8.187), a member of the gens Cornelia, appearing as an actor; Mamerci (8.192),

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20. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 150.
21. Ibid., 152.
22. Ibid., 195.

a family of the Aemelia gens engaged in acting on the stage; Volesi (8.182), a degenerate noble.

Mythological: Cecropides (8.53), referring to dissolute nobles able only to trace their lineage to Cecrops, mythical founder of Athens; Julius (8.42), another noble whose boast is his lineage from Aeneas; Teucri (8.56), alluding to one whose Trojan ancestors did not ennoble him; Troiugenae (1.100), alluding to noble birth as no guarantee against extreme poverty.

Unidentified: Damasippus (8.185), a person of good family turned to acting;[23] Numitor (8.93), referred to as an extortioner.

XIV Existence of Places for Punishment for Crimes

Geographical: Aegaeus (13.81, 246), referring to prisons in the Aegean Sea; Cyclades (6.563), islands in the Aegean to which some of the worst criminals were sent; Gyaros (1.74), an island in the Cyclades for the incarceration of criminals; Lucanus (8.100), Lucania where there were ergastula, or workhouses, in which chained slaves worked at hard labor as a penalty for their crimes; Seriphos (10.170), an island in the Aegean, also used for the retention of dangerous prisoners; Tusca ergastula (8.180), here Tuscan workhouses are designated as Lucanian in (8.100).

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23. Macleane, op. cit., 203.

Chapter III

Luxury

The vehemence of Juvenal is often directed against the luxury of the day as evidenced at the table, in houses, dress and personal adornments, and slaves. The traditional view of Roman luxury conveyed the idea that the luxury of the later Roman Empire was immoral, senseless and unparalleled.[1] Modern scholarship has labored to modify this conception.[2] Juvenal, however, gives the impression of the currency of extreme luxury. This may be accounted for by his standards, those of the early Republic. Moreover, as a rhetorician, Juvenal makes of an abnormal type a general one. The names of the characters pictured as given to sumptuous living have become almost synonomous with luxury.

I Extravagance

Historical: Apicius (4.23), whose name was proverbial for good living since the time of Tiberius; Catullus (12.37), the shipwrecked friend of Juvenal; Licinus (14.306), a collector of taxes under Augustus, and proverbial for his wealth; Maecenas (1.66, 12, 39), the wealthy prime minister of Augustus; Nero (4.137), whose

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1. Friedländer, op. cit., II, 131-146. Friedländer claims the misimpression of Roman luxury is largely due to Meursius' monograph (1605) "Roma luxurians sive de luxu Romanorum".
2. Ibid., 131-146; Dill, op. cit., I, Chap. 2.

evening banquets led to the expression "noctes Heronis"; Ogulnia (6.352), an ambitious woman living above her means; Posides (14), a rich freedman under Claudius.

Geographical: Corinthus (8.113), known for the soft living of the inhabitants;[3] Gaditana (11.162), denoting the colony of Gades, the inhabitants of which were wealthy and luxury-loving; Milus (6.83), known for its wild pleasures; Pharus (6.83), like Milus, used to denote the luxurious prodigality of the Egyptians; Rhodius (8.113), like Corinthus (supra) used to denote the effeminate luxury of the Rhodians.

Of literary invention: Atticus (11.1), taken as a wealthy man given to luxury; Cretonius (14.86), one given to too much building; Rutilus (11.5), a pauper epicure.

II Luxury of the Table

1. Food

Historical: Apicius (4.23,11, 3), who,after spending a fortune for luxurious food, hanged himself for fear of poverty; Caesar (4.51, 5.4, 12, 101), used to denote imperial luxury; Fabricius (4.129), Fabricius Veiento, a gourmand and epicure; Matho (1.32), a fat parvenu; Montanus (4.107, 131), a fat epicure; Ventidius

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3. Hor. Epp. 1, 17, 36. "Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum".

(11.22), representing a wealthy family.

Geographical: Adriacus (4.39), the sea known for its excellent fish; Albanus (5.33, 13, 214), referring to the prize Alban wine; Baiae (11.49), known for its oysters; Calenus (1.69), referring to the wine of Cales, esteemed in Horace's time; Circeii (4.141), a Latian coastal town famed for its oysters; Corsica (5.92), whence came fish delicacies; Falernum (4.138, 6.150, 303, 430, 9, 116, 13, 216), a famous wine; Getica pruina (5.50), snow from distant Thrace was used for cooling; Gaetulus (11.140), wild goats from Africa were considered delicacies; Gauranum (6.86), famous for its oysters; mons Gauranus was near the Lucrine oyster beds; Lucrinum (4.141), the Lucrine lake was the source of prized oysters; Libya (5.119), famous for its truffles; Maeotica (4.42), referring to the sea of Azov where fine fish were frozen up for the winter; Pontus (4.43), where fine fish were also to be caught; Rutupinus (4.141), like Lucrinum (supra 4.141), famous for its oysters; Rutupiae is now Richborough[4], on the Kentish coast; Setinum (5.34, 10, 27), another famous wine from Setia in Latium; Siculus (5.100), celebrated for its fish; Scythica (11.139), referring to the prized pheasants originally from the region about Colchis[5];

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4. Macleane, op. cit., 89.
5. Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 116.

Tauromenitana (5.93), Tauromenium (on the East Coast of Sicily) known for the expensive fish caught in its proximity; Tyrrhenum (5.96), popular as a place to obtain fine fish; Venafranum (5.86), particularly celebrated for its olives[6].

Of literary invention: Rutilus (11.2, 21), a pauper epicure; Virro (5.99, 149), a mean patron indulging himself and his esteemed guest in luxurious food.

Unidentified: Alledus (5.118), an epicure of truffles; Hispulla (12.11), mentioned for adultery in (6.74), and given to luxury and good living; Parthenius (12.44)[7].

2. Tableware

Mythological: Heliades (5.38), a recondite allusion to the tears of the Heliades, changed to amber; amber is meant here.

Geographical: Saguntina (5.29), alluding to the earthenware from Saguntum which was in high repute.[8]

Of literary invention: Virro (5.43), as a wealthy patron possessing bejewelled drinking cups.

III Luxury of Beauty

Historical: Cosmus (8.86) a perfumer; Poppaeana

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6. Horace, S. 2, 4, 69. "Pressa Venafranae quod bacca remisit olivae".
7. Cf. Friedländer, op. cit., IV, 319-320. Also Macleane, op. cit., 275 f. and Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 122.
8. Mayor, op. cit., I, 248.

(6.462), alluding to the care expended by the wife of Nero for her beauty.

Geographical: Catinensis (6.16), pumice stone from Catina, Sicily, was used for removing superfluous hair;[9] Indi (6.466), denoting the East, the exporter of cosmetics.

IV Luxury of Dress

Historical: Creticus (2.67, 78), used to designate the lawyer, dressed in sheer clothes, who inveighs against lewd women.

Geographical: Baeticus (12.42), referring to the bright yellow of the wool from the river Baetis district; Canusina (6.150), referring to the excellence of the wool from Canusium; Coa (8.101), garments of Coan purple were well esteemed; Euganea (8.15), referring to the excellence of the wool from the territory possessed by the Veneti, who drove out an earlier people, the Euganei[10]; Sarrana (10.38), ie. from Sarra or Tyre, meaning Tyrian purple, a rich color usually signifying luxury; Spartana (8.101) denoting a chlamys, a shawl used by the Greeks; Tyrius (1.27, 6.246, to 134, 10. 334), like Sarrana (supra) used to designate the famous Tyrian purple.

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9. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 81.
10. Macleane, op. cit., 109.

V Luxury of Slaves

Geographical: Asia (5.56), referring to Eastern slaves who when handsome commanded high prices and were considered luxuries[11]. Gaetulus (5.53,59), indicating another source of slaves, Africa; these were luxuries when there were many in the service of one; Liburnus (4.75), the Liburnian slave like the Gaetulan slave was usually used for the meaner work; Lycius (11.147), like Asia (supra) denoting fine slaves to act as cupbearers from Asia Minor; Maurus (5.53), like Gaetulus (supra) used to denote a lowly slave to act as a runner; Moesus (7.132, 9.143), slaves from Moesia acting as litter bearers; Phryx (11.147), used as Asia (supra), denoting handsome, valuable slaves from the East; Syri (6.35), like Liburnus and Moesus above denoting slaves from the East as litter bearers.

Of literary invention: Psecas (6.494), used to represent a slave girl acting as an ornatrix.

VI Collection of Art-Objects

Historical: Mentor (8.104), referring to the famous Greek silversmith of the 4th Century B. C. whose masterpieces Juvenal represents as plundered by Roman extortioners; Myron (8.102), the famous sculptor whose masterpieces Roman luxury brought from Greece; Parrhasius (8.102), an Athenian painter of Ephesian birth

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11. Juv. 5, 56-59.

whose art was also brought to Rome; Phidiacus (6.103), alluding to one of the greatest sculptors of Greece, whose art was plundered at the command of luxurious Romans; Polyclitus (8.103), another famous sculptor, contemporary with Phidias, whose art was also represented in Rome by the demand of Romans given to luxury.

VII Magnificence of Building Materials and House Furnishings

Geographical: Graecum (14.89), referring to a building material luxury, marble, of which the chief Greek importations were from Mt. Hymettus, Mt. Pentelicus, Taenarus, Carystos, and from Paros; Indus (11.125), whence came the ivory from the largest[12] elephants; Lacedaemonius (11.175), referring to marble from Taenarus in Laconia which was slightly green and very valuable; it was used for the pavement[13]; Maurus (11.125), Africa, from where costly ivory also came; Nabatheus (11.126), denoting Arabia, also famous for its ivory; Numidia (7.188) which supplied a prized yellow marble used in building; Phrygius (14.307), alluding to marble from a town in Phrygia, Synnada, used for columns in the home of the wealthy; Syenes (11.124), referring to Syene, a town in Egypt through which traffic to Rome from Aethiopia passed. There it denotes a secondary source for the prized marble.

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12. Cf. Mayer, op. cit., II, 203.
13. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 258.

Chapter IV

Ancient Roman Virtues

The infirmities of the age of Juvenal become vices when compared with the virtues of Republican Rome. The moral purity of Cato[1] would indeed reflect to the disadvantage of Crispinus[2]. The generosity of Piso[3], Seneca[4], and Cotta[5] (of the same century as Juvenal but Republican in spirit) contrasted greatly with the meanness of the patron Virro[6]. The patriotism of Brutus[7] seems forever lost by the truckling of Montanus[8] and the fatal whisperings of Catullus the informer[9]. The military leadership of Curius[10] was far different from the example set by Otho[11] with his mirror. Even in the matter of food the age of Juvenal seems degraded; the simplicity of Curius[12] reflects Crispinus[13] a glutton. In the attempt to portray the depravity of his own age by recalling the virtues of old, the satirist forms of these ancient virtues a minor theme running along concurrently

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1. Juv. 11, 90.
2. Juv. 4, 1, 14, 25.
3. Juv. 5, 109.
4. Juv. 5, 109.
5. Juv. 5, 109
6. Juv. 5, 39, 107-113.
7. Juv. 4, 103.
8. Juv. 4, 131.
9. Juv. 4, 113.
10. Juv. 2.3, 153.
11. Juv. 2, 99.
12. Juv. 11, 78.
13. Juv. 4, 1, 24.

with the major theme, the depiction of the extent of vices in later Rome.

I Public Distinction

Historical: Allobrogicis (8.13), a nickname given to honor Quintus Fabius Maximus for his victory over the Allobroges in B. C. 121; Cato (11.90), referring to the respected censorship of Marcus Porcius Cato in B. C. 184; Catulus (2.146), recalling the glories of the family of which C. Lutatius Catulus, the victor of Hanno, and his son were highly distinguished patriots; Decii (8.254, 268, 14, 259), an old plebeian family, two of whom sacrificed their lives in battle; Fabius (2.146, 6.266, 11.90), alluding to the greatness of the patrician Fabia gens; Fabricius (11.91), referring to C. Fabricius Luscinus, censor in B. C. 275; Lepidus (6.265) possibly[14] referring to C. Aemilius Lepidus, the most outstanding of this distinguished gens; Metellus (6.265), referring to L. Caecilius Metellus whose blindness was caused by his rescue of the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta; Paullus (2.146), referring to such men as L. Aemilius, who perished at Cannae, and his son Lucius whose victory over Perseus earned for him the cognomen Macedonicus[15]. Scaurus (11.91), referring to the strict censor M. Aemilius Scaurus whose censorship

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14. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 132f.
15. Ibid., 39.

took place in B. C. 109.

Mythological: Numa (3.138), whose legendary statesmanship was proverbial.

II Military Glory

Historical: Aemilianus (8.3), referring to the younger Scipio; Camillus (2.154, 16.15), alluding to M. Furius, the conqueror of the Gauls; Capitolinus (2.145), a cognomen of the Quintia and Manlia gens; the latter derived it from M. Manlius who saved the Capitol from the Gauls; Cocles (8.264), referring to Horatius Cocles, the hero of the Sublician bridge; Curius (2, 3, 153), alluding to M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus; Decii (8.264, 268), referring to the exploits of an outstanding plebeian family, one of which, P. Decius Mus, commanded the Roman forces in the Latin War; Fabius (3.14), referring to Q. Fabius Maximus, nicknamed Allobrogicus (supra) for his victory over the Allobroges; Gaetulicus (8.26), the nickname of Cassus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, who received the cognomen for his defeat of the Gaetulians in A. D. 6; Marcelli (2.145), referring to the Claudia gens, the first of whom was M. Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse.[16] Mucius (8.264), recalling the heroic deed of Mucius Scaevola, who put his hand in the fire before Tarquinius, whom he had sworn to kill; Scipiadae (2.154),

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16. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 39.

referring to the illustrious military achievements of the two Scipios; Silanus (8.26), referring to the exploits of the early members of the Junian gens; Ventidius (7.199), referring to P. Ventidius Bassus, who executed important offices for Julius Caesar.[17]

III Moral Purity

Historical: Camillus (2.154), referring to the conqueror of the Gauls, M. Furius Cato, (2.40), the great censor; Cossus (8.21), referring to the purity of morals of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (supra); Curius (Curii) (2.3,153, 8.4), referring to the virtues of the plebeian family of the Curii; Drusus (8.21), alluding to the virtues of the Claudia gens; Fabricius (2.154, 9.142), referring to C. Fabricius Luscinus, the opponent of Pyrrhus, and censor in B. C. 275; Helvidius (5.36), the celebrated Stoic famed for his independence under Nero, and who was later put to death by Vespasian; Paulus (8.21), referring to the virtues of the Aemilian gens; Scauri (2.35, 11.91), alluding to the virtue of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus; Scipiadae (2.154), referring to the patriotism of the two famous Scipios; Silanus (8.26), alluding to the virtue of the early members of the Junian gens; Thrasea (5.36), referring to P. Thrasea Paetus, the father-in-law of Helvidius Priscus (supra) and whose independence under Nero caused his death.

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17. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 80.

Geographical: Sabini (10.299), referring to the severe morals of the Sabines.

IV Distinction of Family

Historical: Aemiliani (8.3), referring to the younger Scipio who was of the Aemilia gens, a patrician family; Camerinus (8.38), referring to a distinguished old family of the Sulpicia gens; Corvinus (8.5, 7), referring to a distinguished branch of the Valerian gens, one of whom, Messala Corvinus, was both friend and patron to Horace; Creticus (2.67, 8.38), a cognomen of the Caecilian gens, which though plebeian, was highly distinguished; Curii (8.4), another distinguished plebeian family of whom M. Curius Dentatus was the first honored member; Drusi (8.40), referring to the glories of the Drusi, of whom a late member, Rubellius Blandus, is represented as degenerate; Galba (8.5), a family of the ancient Sulpician gens; Iulius (8.42), referring to the Julian family, the source of many rulers of Rome; Lepidus (8.9), a family of the honored Aemilian gens; Metellus (15.109), referring to the honors of such Metelli as A. Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul in B. C. 80, who discharged the war against Sertorius in B. C. 79-72; Numantini (8.11), referring to the glories of Scipio Africanus the Younger, who received the agnomen

Numantinus after his capture of Numantia in B. C. 133.

V Resistance to Tyranny

Historical: Brutus (4.103), referring to L. Junius Brutus who acted the fool that he might deliver the country from Tarquinius Superbus; Brutus (5.37, 14, 43), referring to Marcus and Decius Brutus; Cassius (5.37), with Marcus Brutus the assassins of Caesar.

VI Simplicity of Life

1. Dress

Geographical: Tuscum (6.289), referring to Tuscan wool, as a badge of the simplicity of former days.

2. Household furnishings

Geographical: Tuscus (10.108), referring to the unpretentious dishes (castini) from Etruria, also a badge of the virtue of former days.

3. Food

Historical: Curius (11.78), referring to M. Curius Dentatus, who raised and cooked his own vegetables.

Chapter V

The Wealthy Parvenu And Affectation of Culture

The pretension to culture by the nouveau riche provoked the satirist to anger. The ostentation of a Crispinus[1] was as revolting as the affectation of literary knowledge by a woman. The decline of the higher classes enabled a lower class, because of its economic rise, to assert itself; this rise was manifest in cruelty to slaves, affectation of Graec - isms, pretentions to literary culture, and the vulgar display of wealth.

I Wealth of Lower Classes

Historical: Crispinus (4.1, 24, 108), referring to the Egyptian upstart, whose rise to wealth, and admission to high political circles was accompanied by an ostentation unbefitting his rank; Lacerta (7. 114), a jockey of the factio russata, whose wealth was great;[2] Pallas (1. 109), a freedman of Antonia, whose wealth was proverbial; Licinus (1. 109), a freedman of Augustus whose great wealth was gained in Gaul, as a collector of taxes.

II Cruelty to Slaves

Geographical: Liburnus (6. 477), an African slave cruelly punished for the contrived fault of tardiness.

Of literary invention: Rutilus (14. 18), who rejoiced in the flogging of his slaves; Pseeas (6. 491), a slave girl cruelly mistreated by her mistress.

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1. Juv. 4, 108.
2. Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 73.

III Affectation of Culture

1. Knowledge of Current Events

Geographical: Armenius (6. 407), referring to a comet which was supposed to menace the Parthian king of Armenia,[3] and used to show the knowledge possessed by a woman; Niphates (6. 409), a range of mountains in Armenia, used to demonstrate the understanding of distant affairs held by a pretentious woman; Parthus (6. 407), referring to the Parthian king of Armenia (supra); Seres (6. 403), referring to the Seres (modern Chinese), that the knowledge of the activities of such a distant people might manifest a woman's superiority; Thraces (6. 403), used like Seres (supra).

2. Affectation of Graecisms

Geographical: Graece (6. 191, 193), contemptuously used to designate the assumption of Greek habits by Roman women; Graecula (6. 186), used as above to point scorn at the spreading imitation of Greek dress and speech among the women of Rome; Sulmonensis (6. 186), referring disparagingly to the change from a provincial of Sulmo to a maid of Athens among the younger women; Tusca (6. 186), used as Sulmonensis to deplore the change from native provincial customs to Greek customs.

3. Knowledge of Literature

a. Grammar

Historical: Palaemon (6. 452), the famous grammarian and teacher, used as the standard adopted by the women pretending

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3. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 141.

to literary knowledge.

b. Epic

Historical: Homerus (6. 437), referring to the ability of the woman, ambitious for literary recognition, who deemed herself worthy to judge Homer; Maro (6. 436), like Homerus above used to designate the ability of the woman esteeming herself worthy to judge Vergil; Vergilius (6. 435), as being praised by a woman literary critic.

c. Character in Epic Poetry

Mythological: Elissa (6. 435), referring to Dido who receives the pardon of the woman literary savant.

Chapter VI

Patronage - Clientage

The client of the Republic was the faithful[1] follower and confident of his patron, who protected him; the client of the time of Juvenal was the ill-paid attendant in the retinue of a grudging patron. To the satirist beggary[2] was preferable to the conditions of clientage. But the mean patron, enjoying the discomfiture of his truckling client, was not the only one to earn the censure of Juvenal; the willingness of the client to continue in his sordid capacity aroused Juvenal to even more bitter declamation directed against such men as Trebius.[3]

I Institution of Patronage

Historical: Cassus (3. 184), a cognomen of the Cornelian gens representing a rich patron to whose salutationes admission is secured by bribing the servants; Cotta (5. 109), referring to Aurelius Cotta, once a rich man, who was pensioned by Nero when poor. Here Cotta is used in contrast to Virro, as a generous patron; Piso (5. 109), referring to Caius Piso, the conspirator against Nero, whose generosity to clients was unusual in the Empire; Seneca (5. 109), like Cotta and Piso above, used to exemplify an unusual generosity towards clients; Veiento (3. 184 4. 113, 6. 113), referring to the famous informer whose patronage was valuable because of his influence in court.

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1. Friedländer, op. cit., I, 195-202.
2. Juv. 5, 9-13.
3. Ibid., 5, 19.

Of literary invention: Virro (5. 39, 128, 156, 9. 35), used as the typical example of a mean patron enjoying the discomfiture of his clients.

Unidentified: Fascidius (13. 32), a causidicus or lawyer whose clients applaud him in court for their sportula.

II Wealth of Patrons

Geographical: Apula (9. 55), referring to the large estates owned by the miserly patron in Apulia; Cumae (9. 57), alluding to the expensive wine which came from near Cumae, and was possessed by the mean patron; Caurus (9. 57), referring to Mons Caurus, about three miles from Cumae, and which has expensive wine for the mean patron; Trifolinus (9.56), referring to a hill, according to Porcellini,[4] in Campania near Naples; this district supplied the mean patron with wine.[5]

III Institution of Clientage

Historical: Gabba (5. 4), a client during the time of Maecenas, who feigned sleep to permit the attentions of Maecenas to his wife, but alertly reprimanded a slave about to drink wine;[6] Pollio (7. 176, 6. 387), a musician who was patronized by a wealthy woman in love with him; Sarmentus (5. 3), a jester at the court of Augustus.[7]

Of literary invention: Diphilus (5. 120), representing a Greek client, whose readiness to do anything has effaced the possibility of honorable Roman clientage; Hermarchus (5. 120),

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4. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 215f.
5. Cf. Ibid., 215f. for opinions of Martial and Galen concerning the wine.
6. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes, 55.
7. Horace Sat. I, 5. 52.

like Diphilus (supra) a Greek client monopolizing a patron and thus depriving a Roman client; Mycale (5. 141), the wife of the poor client Trebius, whose fecundity amuses the patron; Protogenes (3. 120), like Diphilus and Hermarchus (supra) a Greek client depriving the Roman client of a patron; Trebius (5. 19, 135), an example of a typical poor client paying constant service to a cruel selfish patron who is only amused by the suffering of the client.

Unidentified: Maevolus (9. 1, 91), a client whose subservience to his patron's perverted immorality earned him only contempt.

Chapter VII

Legacy Hunting

Pliny the Younger,[1] has painted a clear picture of legacy hunting, as a sign of social disintegration. Juvenal, too, declaims against the vice often associating it with clientage. The satirist cried out against the giving of gifts to the rich in the never realized hope of obtaining endowment from them. Old, heirless women, like Aurelia[2] were just as much sought as heirless old men. The burden of the blame is put by Juvenal upon the legacy seekers, whose loss of independence and respect has brought them little material recompense.

I Gifts to Rich

Historical: Euphranor(5, 217), referred to as the artist whose statues are presented to a rich man in the hope of a legacy; Polyclitus (3,217), also mentioned as a famous artist whose statues are presented to a wealthy man in the hope of a legacy.

Geographical: Asiana (3,218), referring to the rich East, the plunders of which, constitute gifts to the rich in the hope of an endowment.

II Pursuit of Rich in Hope of Legacies

1. The Hunted Rich

Historical: Catullus(12,93), the friend of Juvenal for whose escape from a shipwreck, the satirist gave thanks without thought of being named as heir; Censennia (6.136),[3] loved because of the huge dot brought to her husband; Paccius (12,39), a rich orbus whose sickness brings prayers for recovery by will hunters.

Of Literary invention: Coranus (16.5½,[4] a wealthy young man to

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1. Cf. 5, 2.20.
2. Juv., 598
3. Cf. Friedländer, op. cit., IV. 319.
4. Cf. Horace, Sat. II. 5. 55f.

whom favor is paid by his own father in the hope of surviving as heir his son; Persicus (3.221), a wealthy man whose burned home is replaced by gifts from those seeking mention in his will.

Unidentified: Albina (3.130), mentioned as a wealthy woman whose favor is sought by a praetor. Asturicus (3.212), referring to a rich man whose burned home occasions grief throughout the city; Aurelia (5.98),a wealthy woman who, when given gifts in the hope of a legacy, sells them; Gallitta (12.99, 113), a wealthy woman for whose favor captatores are ready to sacrifice elephants on her altars; Modia (3.130), like Albina (supra) mentioned as a wealthy lady in whose will mention is sought by many;

2. The Hunters

Of literary invention: Cossus(10.202), mentioned as a persistent legacy hunter; Hister Pacuvius (12.111, 125, 128), mentioned as a will hunter, ready to do anything to be named heir; Novius (12.111), like Pacuvius (supra) ready to sacrifice even an elephant to be named heir.

Unindentified: Gillo (1.40), mentioned as a legacy seeker whose recompense is granted according to the sexual satisfaction rendered by him; Laenas (5.98), mentioned as the legacy hunter whose gift to Aurelia is sold by her; Proculeius (1.40), like Gillo (supra) a legacy hunter whose recompense is granted according to the sexual satisfaction rendered by him; Ursidius (6.38), mentioned as a legacy hunter.

Chapter VIII

Pursuit of Literature, Oratory, Music, and Art.

In the satires of Juvenal there are a great many names associated with literature, oratory, music and art. The literary outlook of the day concerned the satirist,[1] and in viewing the situation many fields of literature and writers are recalled by the poet. Drama, and especially the ill respected mime receive a great deal of attention, mainly because of the immorality of the actors. Closely associated with literature is oratory. The satirist, though he practiced declamation long after the school period, derides the loud spoken pettifoggers who for a consideration will portray any cause as right. The reminisences of the musical world are concerned with the immorality of the musicians. Both actors and musicians were of low rank in Rome. Occasionally the masters of Greek art are mentioned to illustrate the value of a particular gift given to a patron or rich man.

Such allusions, when classified, present the author's interest in the fields represented by the names, in a sense quite independant of the immediate context of any one of the allusions, except in the seventh satire which has for its subject the literary outlook.

I Philosophy

Historical: Aristoteles (2.6), referring to the famous Greek philosopher who is known to the sham Roman philosopher by the purchased bust of the philosopher; Chrysippus (2.5, 13.184) referring to the reputed founder of Stoicism, though third in descent from Zeno;

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1. Cf. Satire V

Cleanthes (2.7), the Stoic philosopher, pupil of Zeno, and teacher of Chrysippus; Cynici (13.121, 122, 14.309), referring to the Cynic school of philosophy, which at the time was not strictly differentiated from the Stoics; Democritus (10.34), referring to Democritus as the laughing philosopher; Epicurus (13.122), mentioned as a philosopher by Juvenal, who professes to give advice without a full knowledge of philosophy; Pittacus (2.6), one of the seven wise men, born at Mitylene circa B.C. 650; Pythagoras (3.229, 15.173), referring to the leguminous diet of the famed philosopher; Socratici (2.10, 14.320), referring to the modesty of the needs of Socrates followers; Stoicum (13.121), referring to the doctrines of theStoics of which Juvenal disclaims any profound knowledge; Thales (13.184), referring to the famous Greek philosopher, one of the seven wise men; Zeno (15.107), referring to the originator of Stoic philosophy.

Geographical: Athenae (15.110), referring to Athens as the literary and philosophical possession of Rome; Graiae (15.110), alluding to the Roman possession of Greek literature and philosophy, possessed now by the whole world.

Unidentified: Sextus (2.21), referring to a sham philosopher, whom the scholiast[2] identifies as a senator.

II Music

Historical: Glaphyrus (6.77), a well known flute player given to sexual immorality; Pollio (6.387, 7.176), a musician patronized by a wealthy woman in love with him.

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2. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 26.

Of Literary invention: Chrysogonus (6.74, 7.176), singer whose sexual excesses impaired his voice.

Unidentified: Ambrosius (6.77), a musician known for his immorality; Echion (6.76), another musician known for his immorality.

III Declamation

1. Subjects

Historical: Hannibal (7.161), referring to the exploits of the famous general who furnished the schools many declamatory themes; Sulla (1.16), referring to the statesman whose achievements also became topics for rhetorical training.

Mythological: Aeacus (1.10) referring to one of the three judges of the underworld, referred to so often in the rhetorical exercises of the schools. Aeolius (1.8), referring to the Aeolian rocks, north of Sicily, used as a theme for declamation; referring to the contest between Ajax and Ulysses, so often a declamatory theme; Mars (1.8), referring to the grove of Mars, used as a theme for declamations; Monychus (1.11), a centaur, who with others hurled trees upon Caeneus at the marriage of Pirithous. This became the subject of many declamations; Vulcanus (1.9), referring to the cave of Vulcan, alluded to in declamatory themes.

2. Declaimers

Historical: Secundus Carrinas(7.204f.), a rhetorician banished by Caligula for declaiming against tyrants; Theodorus (7.177), referring to the poverty of the rhetorician Theodorus of Gadara, who was the teacher of Tiberius; Vettius (7.150), referring to Vettius Valens, the founder of a new school of rhetoric.

IV Grammar

Historical: Palaemon (6.452, 7.215, 219), referring to the famous teacher of grammar under Tiberius; Quintilianus (6.75, 280, 7.186), referring to the famous teacher of rhetoric, thought by some to have been the teacher of Juvenal.[3]

Unidentified: Celadus (7.215), referring to the poverty of grammarians, and specifically of this unknown grammarian; Hirrus (10.222), referring to a grammarian who defrauded his pupils.

V Oratory and Orators

Historical: Celsus (6.245), referring to the famous jurist, to whom an arrogant woman pleader is ready to dictate; Cicero(7.139,214), alluding to the ability of the great orator whose sparkling ring attracted clients; Isaeus (3.74), alluding to a famous rhetorician of Juvenal's time who always spoke extempore; Matho (7.129), also mentioned at (1.32), is regarded here as a bankrupt lawyer; Paulus (7.143), referring to a lawyer whose financial success is due to his impression of wealth rather than legal ability; Rufus (7.213, 214), a Gallic prator whose eloquence was compared to that of Cicero; Tullius (7.199), referring to the goodness of Chance which enabled Cicero to become famous.

Geographical: Africa (7.149), mentioned as the training ground for causidici or lawyers; Brittani(15.111), mentioned as instructed in law by Gallia; Gallia (7.148, 15.111),like Africa (supra), the training ground of many lawyers.

Of literary invention: Aemilius (7.124), referring to a lawyer of the higher class who may command a high fee regardless of his ability;

3. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 117.

Basilus (7.145, 146, 147, 10.222),referring to a poor, unsuccessful lawyer; Gallus (7.144), referring to an honest but mediocre lawyer whose poverty is due to his failure to impress the clients with a show of wealth;

Unidentified: Caedicius (13.197, 16.46), mentioned as a lawyer; Curtius (11.34), mentioned as a type pettifogger; Fuscus (12.45, 16.46), mentioned as a type of lawyer; Pedo (7.129), referring to a typical poor lawyer, unable to keep up with his wealthier rivals; Tongilius (7.130), like Pedo, used for a poor lawyer unable to meet the competition of his wealthier rivals; Vagellius (13.119, 16.23), an unknown lawyer;

VI Literature in General

1. Epic

Historical: Homerus (7.38, 10.246, 15.69); Lucanus (7.79), the author of the De Bello Civile, referred to as a rich poet, which state was exceptional for literary men; Maro(7.227, 11.180); Saleius (7.80), referring to a poet subsidized by Vespasian;[4] Statius (7.83), referring to the epic poet C. Papinius Statius, author of two epic poems, Thebais and Achilleis, as well as Silvae, a book of occasional poems; Vergilius (7.69), referring to the freedom from financial worries enjoyed by Vergil.

Of literary Invention: Cordus (1.2), the fictitious name given to a writer of a fictitious epic called the Theseis.

2. Lyric

Historical: Flaccus (7.227), referring to the popularity of Horace as a school poet; Horatius (7.62), referring to the prosperity of Horace,

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4. Cf. Wilson, op. cit., Notes 71; Quintilian,X. 1, 89f.

3. Tragedy

Historical: Faustus (7.12)mentioned as the author of two tragedies, one about Thebes, and the other about Tereus; Paccius (7.12), mentioned as the author of a tragedy about Alcithoe; Rubrenus Lappa (7.72), mentioned as the author of a tragedy called Atreus; Sophocleus (6.636), referring to the great Greek writer of tragedies.

4. Mime

Historical: Catullus (8.186), mentioned as the author of the Phasma.

5. Political essays and satire

Historical: Caesar (6.338), mentioned for his Anticatones, inveighing against Cato; Lucilius (1.165), alluding to the famous satirist.

6. History

Historical: Sostratus (10.178), referring to a poet who wrote on the exploits of Xerxes.

7. Unclassified literature

Of literary invention: Cluvienus (1.80), otherwise unknown; Telesinus (7.25), a fictitious name for a poet whose only hope of support is the Emperor.

VII. Titles of Literary Works

Alcithoe (7.12), a tragedy ascribed to a Paccius; Anticatones (6.338), referring to a work in two books by Caesar,abusing Cato; Ilius (11.180), referring to the Iliad of Homer; Orestes (1.6), referring to the name of a tragedy by some unknown poet; Phasma (8.186),the name of a mime by Catullus; Philippica (10.125), referring to Cicero's orations against Antony; Telephus (1.4), referring to Telephus, the son of Hercules, and

a frequent subject for tragedy; Tereus (7.12), a tragedy by a Faustus; Thebais (7.83), referring to the epic poem of Statius; Theseus (1.2), referring to an epic poem by a poet Cordus; Thyestes (8.228), referring to the name of a tragedy; Troica (8.221), the name of a long epic poem by Nero.

VIII. Characters in Literature

1. Tragedy

Mythological: Alcithoe (7.12), referring to the daughter of Minyas who was changed into a bat for refusing to celebrate the rites of Dionysus; Antigone (8.229), referring to the daughter of Oedipus; Atreus (7.73), referring to the son of Pelops, about whose family many tragedies centered; Melanippe (8.229), the daughter of Aeolus, about whom Euripides, Ennius, and Accius wrote tragedies; Orestes (1.6), the son Agamemnon, figuring in tragedies about the house of Atreus; Telephus (1.5), referring to the son of Hercules, a fertile subject for tragedy; Tereus (7.12), the husband of Procne and Philomela, figuring in drama.

2. Epic

Mythological: Acestes (7.235), the Sicilian king who received Aeneas twice; Achilles (1.163, 7.310), as well known to all schoolboys; Aeneas (1.162), as a common subject for school exercises and later declamations; Anchemolus (7.235), figuring in the Aeneid, used to test the knowledge of boys; Anchises (7.234), figuring in the Aeneid, and also used as a test question for school boys; Hylas (1.164), the favorite of Hercules, used as a theme by the poets; Monychus (1.11), a centaur figuring in Ovid's Metamorphoses; Rutulus (1.162), referring to Turnus, Aeneas'

opponent.

IX Patrons of Literature

Historical: Caesar (7.1), referring to Hadrian as the hope of literature by his patronage of poets; Cotta (7.95), to whom Ovid addressed several of his epistles; Fabius (7.96), a patron of literature to whom Ovid also addressed several epistles; Lentulus (7.95), Cicero's friend to whom the orator addressed several letters, known as a literary patron; Maecenas (7.94), the famous patron of Horace; Proculeius (7.94), another patron, the brother-in-law of Maecenas.

Unidentified: Fronto (1.12), a literary patron leding halls for resitations; Numitor (7.74), a mean patron refusing aid to a poet but aiding his own mistress.

X. Actors

Historical; Antiochus (3.98), a famous actor in Rome; Pathyllus (6.63), a lascivious pantomime actor; Demetrius (3.99), a famous Greek actor; Lentulus (8.187), a degenerate patrician, appearing as an actor; Paris (7.87), an actor mentioned as the purchaser of Statius' Agave; Stratocles (3.99), a well known comic actor in Rome; Thymele (1.36), an actress to whom Domitian was partial.

Unidentified: Carpophorus (6.199), mentioned as a Greek actor; Damasippus (8.185), an actor originally of a good family, but driven to the stage by bankruptcy; Haemus (3.99, 6.198), an effeminate actor; Seleucus (10.211), a singer or musician, otherwise unknown; Urbicius (6.71), known as a comic actor.

XI. Characters in Comic Plays

Autonoe (6.72), the sister of Cadmus, and used for tragedy, but also used as a travesty in an Atellan play; Doris (3.94), used as an ancilla in comedy; Latinus (6.44), referred to as the name of a

character in a comic play; Laureolus (8.187), the principal character in a comic play; Leda (6.63), a character in a mime; Thais (3.93), the type of courtesan common to mimes and low comedy.

XII. Art

1. Sculptors

Euphranor (3.217), a Greek sculptor who flourished at Athens circa B.C. 336; Polyclitus (3.217), a Greek sculptor who flourished circa B.C. 452-412;

2. Silversmith

Parthenius (12.44), according to the scholiast, a metal worker of distinction.[5]

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5. Cf. Maclenne, op. cit., 225; Mayor, op. cit., II. 229.

Chapter IX

Foreigners in Rome

The great number of foreigners in Rome at the time of Juvenal tended to make for cosmopolitanism. The displacement of old Roman manners by new customs introduced by the foreigners was seen as a national degradation by the satirist. Moreover, these foreigners, especially the Greeks, were willing and ready to do anything for a living. Flattery and constant attendance upon patrons were the methods used to make themselves indispensable. In addition to this large number of freedmen, many slaves were imported from the East and Africa. The Eastern slaves generally commanded good prices because of their beauty and intelligence. African slaves, however, were usually given mean tasks, and were ill-considered.

I Natives of the East

Geographical: Armenius (6. 550), alluding to the soothsayers in Rome from Armenia, as the East; Bithyni (7. 15), referring to the rich slaves from Bithynia; Cappadoces (7. 15), referring to the slaves from Cappadocia whose wealth was equestrian; Commagenus (6. 550), referring to the beggars of Commagene (north of Syria), who told fortunes in Rome; Euphrates (1. 104), referring to the East where many foreigners in Rome originated; Gallia (7. 16), referring to Galatia, in Asia, settled by Gallic tribes in 278 B.C.; Syrophoenix (8. 160), referring to Syrophoenicians, Eastern foreigners in Rome, as keepers of disreputable taverns; Syrus (3. 62), Syria, whence came many slaves to Rome.

Unidentified: Armenius Zalaces (2. 164), a foreigner who yielded to the sexual perversion of a tribune; Cyane (8. 162), a Syrophoenician maiden in Rome acting as an assistant to an innkeeper.

II Egyptians

Historical: Arabarchus (1. 130), referring to an Egyptian, Tiberius Julius Alexander, who rose to military prominence; Crispinus (1.27, 4. 1, 14, 24), the Egyptian upstart.

Geographical: Aegyptus (1. 130), referring to the birthplace of the foreigner Arabarchus; Canopus (1. 26), a town about fifteen miles from Alexandria, infamous for its immorality; Niliacus (1. 26), referring to the Nile, from the vicinity of which Rome attracted many foreigners.

III Greeks

Geographical: Achaei (3. 61), referring to Greek foreigners in Rome from Achaea; Amydon (3. 69), referring to Greeks from Amydon near Macedonia; Andros (3. 70), referred to as the birthplace of Greek foreigners in Rome; Athenae (3. 80), as the home of Greek foreigners in Rome; Graecus, a, um, (Graeculus) (3. 61, 78, 114, 6. 16, 10. 174), Greeks, referred to as overrunning Rome, and making it impossible for Romans to live; Miletus (6. 296), a Greek colony, from which many Greeks made their way to Rome; Rhodus (6. 296), another Greek colony from which immoral Greeks came to Rome; Samos (3. 70), a Greek island sending foreigners to Rome; Sicyon (3. 69), a Greek city of refinements whence foreigners came to Rome; Sybaris (6. 296), an ancient Greek town near Tarentum, from which Greeks came to Rome; Tarentum (6. 297), a Greek city in Italy from which Greeks

moved to Rome; Tralles (3. 70), a Greek town in Lydia which also sent Greek immigrants to Rome.

IV Jews

Geographical: Judaea (6. 543), referring to a Jewess in Rome telling fortunes; Judaei (3. 14), referring to Jews, who, forbidden to live in the city by Domitian, rented groves outside of Rome.

V Negroes (See also Luxury of slaves.)

Geographical: Aethiops (6. 600), referring to the negro slaves in Rome with whom Roman women sometimes committed adultery; Maurus (3. 79), referring to the inoffensiveness of the many negroes in Rome, compared with the troublous Greeks.

Chapter X

Poverty

The institution of clientage manifests the poverty of a class of people in Rome; this class was the body of native city dwellers who neither belonged to the upper two sections of society nor to the freedman class. Its poverty was due, according to the satirist,[1] to the immigration from Greece and the East. The undignified services which foreign clients were wont to render could not be done by self-respecting Roman clients, whose economic station was thereby imperilled. Indeed, it was largely due to this that the satirist raised his voice against the majority of foreigners. The poverty of the aristocrats, on the other hand, was often due to dissipation and untimely luxury.

Historical: Corvinus (1. 108), a name suggesting the impoverished nobility; Creperius Pollio (9. 6, 7), a bankrupt whose offer of three times the usual interest (12%) to the money-lenders was spurned; Matho (7. 129), a bankrupt lawyer; Pollio (11. 43), a man of senatorial or equestrian order reduced to beggary.

Mythological: Troiugenae (1. 100), referring to members of the nobility forced to seek a dole.

Geographical: Gallus (9. 30), referring to the cheap textures imported from Gaul, and worn by the poor; Judaei (6. 547), represented as beggars living by fortune telling.

Of literary invention: Galla (1. 125, 126), the fictitious

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1. Cf. Satire 3.

name of a woman whose poverty-stricken husband seeks to obtain her dole by pointing to a carriage wherein he falsely claims she rests; Ucalegon[2] (3. 199), the fictitious name of a poor man whose meagre possessions are displayed when his house burns.

Unidentified: Aelia (6. 72), the poor woman whose adultery must be confined by her purse to meaner actors; Codrus (3. 203), a very poor man whose bed was too small for a midget; Pedo (7. 129), a bankrupt lawyer; Tongilius (7. 129), a poor man once luxuriously wealthy; Umbricius (3. 21), a friend of Juvenal, forced to leave Rome because he could no longer earn a living there due to the foreigners.

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2. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2, 311-312. "jam proximus ardet/Ucalegon."

Chapter XI

Collapse of Governmental Institutions

Juvenal manifests frequent opinions as to the disintegration of the Empire. The references to public plunderers, tyranny, and informers indicate the satirist's belief in the degradation of political administration. Against dead tyrants, public despoilers and informers, Juvenal lashes out bitterly. A Domitian,[1] is in many ways worse than a Cataline.[2] The activities of a Marius[3] were as injurious as the permitted deeds of the informer Catullus.[4] Such men, allowed to operate unscrupulously for their own selfish ends, constitute for Juvenal the disgrace in which Rome was plunged.

I Tyranny

Historical: Caesar (10. 86), referring to Tiberius whose sudden condemnation of Sejanus aroused the fear of the people who could not fathom such a tyrant; Caesar (4. 135), referring to Domitian, whose tyranny towards the senate is ridiculed in Juv. 4; Flavius (4. 37), referring to Domitian, a Flavian, whose tyranny is compared with that of Nero; Nero (4. 38, 10. 15), mentioned as the cruel tyrant of Rome.

Mythological: Atrides (4. 65), referring to Domitian and comparing him with Agamemnon.

II Victims of Tyrants

Historical: Barea (3. 116), proconsul of Asia, who was

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1. Cf. Juv. 4, 135.
2. Ibid., 14, 41.
3. Ibid., 8, 120.
4. Ibid., 4, 113.

condemned to death by Nero; Helvidius (5. 36), referring to the Stoic who was put to death by Nero; Lamiae (4. 154), referring to Aelius Lamia, whose wife Domitian took away, and whom Domitian later murdered; Longinus (10. 16), referring to a wealthy jurist, Cassius Longinus, whom Nero banished because he was covetous of the jurist's wealth, and jealous of his eminence; Sejanus (10. 90), referring to Tiberius' chief assistant at Rome whose murder was suddenly performed at the command of the Emperor; Seneca (8. 212, 10. 216), referring to the writer and tutor of Nero, who ordered his death on the charge of conspiracy; Thrasea (5. 36), referring to the Stoic P. Thrasea Paetus, who was killed by the order of Vespasian.

III Public Rebellion

Historical: Catilina (2. 27, 8. 231, 10. 288), referring to the famous conspirator; Cethegus (2. 27, 8. 231, 10.287), the fellow conspirator of Catiline; Clodius (2. 27), referring to the enemy of Milo, and adulterer of Pompeia; Gracchi (2. 24), referring to the Gracchi, whose activities for the poor people were not always within the law; Milo (2. 26), referring to the murderer of Clodius.

IV Extortion

Historical: Antonius (8. 105), referring to the uncle of M. Antonius, convicted in 59 B.C. of plundering the province of Macedonia during his proconsulship there; Capito (8. 93), Cossutianus Capito, degraded in 57 A.D. for extortion from Cilicia during his governorship; Dolabella (8. 105), referring to Cn. Dolabella, praetor of Cilicia in 80-79 B.C., who was

convicted of extortion from that province; Marius (1. 49, 8. 120), referring to Marius Priscus who was convicted of extortion from his province of Africa, and banished; Massa (1. 35), a freedman condemned for oppression of Baetira during his governorships there; Nero (1?. 129), alluding to Nero's confiscation of private fortunes; Verres (2. 26, 3. 53, 8. 106), referring to the plunderer of Sicily.

Geographical: Afri (8. 120), referring to the Africans whom Marius stripped.

Unidentified: Natta (8. 95), listed as a public extortioner; Numitor (8. 93), an unknown public extortioner; Pansa (8. 95), also licted as an extortioner.

V System of Informers

Historical: Carus (1. 36), feared as an informer; Catullus (4. 113), the blind informer and flatterer of Domitian; Latinus (1. 36, 6. 44), an actor and informer who had the favor of Domitian; Massa (1. 35), referring to Baebius Massa who escaped a condemnation for extortion to become a notorious informer under Domitian; Palfurius (4. 53), an active informer under Domitian; Pompeius (4. 110), a member of Domitian's council, who was a dangerous informer.

Geographical: Asiani (7. 14), referring to former Asian slaves who became informers; Bithyni (7. 15), like Asiani (supra) referring to former slaves enriched by informing; Cappadoces (7. 15), like Bithyni, former slaves from Bithynia profitably engaged in informing; Gallia (7. 16), referring to former slaves from Galatia whose wealth was due to their informing.

Unidentified: Armillatus (4. 53), mentioned as an informer.

Chapter XII

Follies of Mankind

Viewing mankind broadly the satirist sees moral weaknesses in all types of ambition. The glory of Hannibal[1] availed him little. The great power of Sejanus[2] led him to death. It was beauty which destroyed Verginia[3] and Lucretia[4]. The possession of wealth was a dangerous ambition, of which Seneca[5] and Longinus[6] were conspicuous examples. It was eloquence, not poetry, which was fatal to Cicero[7]. Ambition, then, was truly dangerous; the desire of men to gain success is pitied by a softened satirist, who, after pointing out the futility of eminence, guides his auditor to prayers for health, reason, and courage.[8]

I Desire for Military Glory

Historical: Alexander (14. 311), the famous military leader; Galba (2. 104), the short-reigned emperor whose military successes led the way to his death; Hannibal (10. 147), the famous general whose brilliant military career availed him nothing; Mithridates (14. 254), whose reigning position and military glory did not prevent attempts upon his life necessitating the use of drugs.

Geographical: Medus (10. 177), referring to Xerxes, whose military glories were of no use after Salamis; Pellaeus (10. 168), referring to Alexander who was not content with one world, yet an early death revealed his unimportance.

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1. Cf. Juv. 10. 147.
2. Ibid., 10. 66.
3. Ibid., 10. 294.
4. Ibid., 10. 294.
5. Ibid., 10. 16.
6. Ibid., 10. 16.
7. Ibid., 10. 114-126.
8. Ibid., 10. 346-366.

II Conquests of Military Leaders

Geographical: Aethiops (10. 150), referring to Africa as not large enough for Hannibal; Africa (10. 148), like Aethiops (supra) referring to the ambition of Hannibal which extended beyond Africa; Alpes (10. 152, 166), referring to Hannibal's march through the Alps; Athos (10. 174), referring to the building of a canal at Athos by Xerxes to avoid naval disaster for his fleet; Bithynus (10. 162), referring to the king of Bithynia, Prusias, with whom Hannibal stayed after his defeat at Zama; Cannae (10. 165), referring to the Apulian village where Hannibal defeated the Romans in 216 B.C.; Hispania (10. 151), referring to Hannibal's victory in 219 B. C. of Saguntum, in Spain; Italia (10. 154), referring to Hannibal's seizure of Italy; Pyraneeus (10. 151), referring to Hannibal's crossing of the Pyrenees in 218 B.C.

III Desire for Longevity

Historical: Catilina (10. 288), referred to as enjoying death when his work was over, without the pain of old age; Cethegus (10. 287), another conspirator who was also spared the pain of old age; Lentulus (10. 287), referring to C. Cornelius Lentulus, a fellow conspirator of Cethegus who also died before old age set in; Pompeius (10. 283), who outlived his glory.

Mythological: Achilles (10. 256), whose death preceded that of his father Peleus; Antilochus (10. 253), a son of Nestor, whose early death brought grief to his father; Hector (10. 259), whose early death Priam lived to bemoan; Peleus (10. 256), whose old age was pained by the death of Achilles,

his son; Priamus (10. 258), whose old age was made unhappy by the destruction of Troy, and the death of his children.

Geographical: Asia (10. 266), referring to the destruction of Troy which Priam lived to see in his old age; Campania (10. 283), referring to the fever received by Pompey in Campania, and which he survived only to suffer defeat and death later; Pylius (10. 146), referring to Nestor, whose old age was filled with sorrow.

IV Striving for Political Power

Historical: Bruttidius (10. 83), an aedile whose face betrayed the worries of his official post; Crassus (10. 108), referring to M. Licinius Crassus, whose power brought him death; Pompeius (10. 108), whose ambition led him to death in Egypt; Seianus (10. 63, 66, 76, 89, 90, 104), referring to Tiberius' chief assistant in Rome whose almost limitless power suddenly brought him a death ordered by Tiberius.

V Desire for Beauty

Historical: Lucretia (10. 293), referring to the chaste, beautiful wife of Collatinus; she committed suicide after her dishonor by Tarquin, who was smitten with her beauty; Verginia (10. 294), who was killed by her father to preserve her honor.

Mythological: Bellerophon (10. 325), who resisted Stheneboea who charged him to Proetus, her husband; Cressa (10. 327), referring to Phaedra, whose resisted advances to her stepson caused her to have him killed; Endymion (10. 318), referring to any handsome boy, whose beauty will lead him to evil; Hippolytus (10. 325), referring to the stepson of Phaedra

who resisted her advances, and was killed for this; Stheneboea (10. 327), wife of Proteus who had her husband charge the youth Bellerophon when he resisted her advances.

Unidentified: Rutila (10. 294, 295), a woman with a hump on her back envious of the beauty of Verginia, whose death resulted from her beauty.

VI Striving for Wealth

Historical: Lateranus (10. 17), whose wealth caused his death when Nero became jealous; Longinus (10. 16), referring to Cassius Longinus, an eminent jurist whose wealth caused his death when Nero became avaricious; Seneca (10. 16), the tutor of Nero, enriched by him, and later put to death, partly because of his wealth.

VII Wish for Oratorical Brilliance

Historical: Cicero (10. 114), whose eloquence caused his death; Demosthenes (10. 114), whose suicide was caused by his own prominence.

Chapter XIII

Miscellaneous

A great many proper names used by Juvenal can be classified only by source.

Historical: Alexander (14.311), referring to the interview between Alexander and Diogenes; Antonius (10.123), mentioned as the enemy of Cicero; Archigenes (14.252), a famous Greek physician; Asylus (6.267), a well-known gladiator; Britannicus (6.124), the son of Claudius and Messalina, addressed by the satirist in inveighing against the prostitution of Messalina; Corbulus (3.251), mentioned as a strong soldier; Chaerippus (8.96), mentioned as possibly being poos; Cicero (8.244), mentioned as honored by Rome; Catullus (12.29), a shipwrecked friend of Juvenal; Domitius (8.228), a reference to Nero who was of the Domitian gens; Fonteius (13.7), a reference to L. Fonteius Capito, consul in A. D. 59, for dating purposes; Galba (8.222), mentioned as a candidate for Emperor; Hannibal (6.291, 12, 108), mentioned as an enemy of Rome, who used elephants in his military tactics; Iuncus (15.27), a consul, referred to for dating purposes; Ladas (13.97), a famous runner; Laelius (14.195), mentioned as a commanding officer; Molossus (12.108, 14, 162), an enemy of Rome; Mucius

(1.154), mentioned as an object of satiric attack; Moyses (14.102), mentioned as the lawgiver of the Jews; Nero (8.170, 193, 212, 223), mentioned as an Emperor, tyrannous and capricious; Narcissus (14.329), mentioned as a freedman of Claudius; Otho (3.159, 14.324), referring to L. Roscius Otho who proposed and saw passed a law reserving the first fourteen rows of theatre seats for the Equites; Phalaris (8.81), referring to the tyrant of Agrigentum; Phillipus (13.125), representing a poor doctor of the time; Pyrrhus (14.162), mentioned as an enemy of Rome; Verginius (8.221), the conqueror of Vindex; Vindex (8.222), mentioned as a governor of Upper Germany, who lost his life in a battle with Verginius.

Mythological: Achilles (8.271, 11.30), contrasted with Thersitis; Acacides (8.270), referring to Achilles, compared with Thersitis; Aeneas (5.139), a parody of Vergil; Aen. (4.329); Aeolus (10.181), referring to the keeper of the winds; Agamemnonides (8.215), referring to the murder by Orestes; Ajax (14.213, 15.65), referring to the strength and achievements of Ajax; Alcestes (6.653), who died for Admetus; Alcinous (15.15), referring to the hospitality of the King of Scheria to Ulysses; Amphion (6.174), the King of Thebes and husband of Niobe; Andromache (6.503), noted for her

tallness, Antaeus (3.89), the giant wrestler of Libya conquered by Hercules; Antiphates (14.20), the King of the Laestrygones who sank the ships of Ulysses; Aonides (7.59), referring to the Muse; Apollo (7.37, 13.203), in the portico of whose temple recitations were held; Arachne (2.56), the maiden who challenged Athena to a spinning contest; Astraea (6.19), representing Justice, who had deserted the world; Atlas (8.32, 11, 24), referring to the size of Atlas; Atrides (6.660), referring to the murder of Agamemnon; Automedon (1.61), used to designate a driver; Bellona (4.124), as inspiring Veiento; Cacus (5.125), the giant defeated by Hercules; Calliope (4.34), an invocation of the muse; Camenae (3.16, 7.2), mentioned as ejected from the woods; Cassandra (10,262), mentioned as a daughter of Priam; Castor (13.152, 14.260), mentioned as having a statue; Celaeno (8.130), a harpy compared with a greedy woman; Ceres (3.320, 6.50, 9.24, 10.112, 14.219, 263, 15.141), mentioned as a succoring goddess; Charybelis (15.17), mentioned as a horror; Cheron (3.205), referring to the centaur who taught Achilles; Clio (7.7), mentioned as a muse; Clotho (9.135), one of the three fates; Concordia (1.116), referring to the temple of Concord; Circe (15.21), referring to the bewitcher of Ulysses' companions; Cybeles (14.263),

(14.263), referring to the worship of Cybeles; Cyclops (15.18), referring to the Cyclops, more to be believed than Egyptian horrors; Daedalus (3.25), referring to Daedalus as flying to Cumae; Deucalion (1.81), used to designate the beginning of time; Diana (15.8), referred to as a divinity; Electra (8.218), referred to as the sister of Orestes; Elpenor (15.22), referred to as changed to a swine by Circe; Ennosigaeus (10.182), referred to as Poseidon; Epona (8.157), referred to as the divinity of horses; Eumenides (14.285), referred to as pursuing Orestes; Evander (11.71), mentioned for his hospitality; Fides (1.115), mentioned as a divinity; Fortune (3.40, 6.605, 7.197, 10.52, 285, 366, 14.316), mentioned as a divinity; Furiae (13.51), mentioned as a punishers; Ganymedes (5.59, 9.22), mentioned as beautiful; Gorgo (3.118, 12.4), mentioned for its killing; Gradivus (2.128, 13, 113), an epithet applied to Mars; Iarba (5.45), referring to the unsuccessful suitor of Dido; Iaso (6.153), applying the hero's name to represent any sailor; Iphigenia (12.119), referring to the sacrifice of the daughter of Agamemnon; Iulius (12.70), referring to the son of Aeneas and founder of Alba Longa; Iuno (2.98, 6.48, 6.19, 7.32, 13.40), referring to the divinity of Jupiter's wife; Juppiter (5.79, 6.15, 386, 8.156, 10.38, 188, 11.116, 12.6, 12.89, 13.41,

14.81, 271), alluding to the omnipotence of Jupiter; Lachesis (3.27), one of the Fates; Laestrygonae (15.18), alluding to the Homeric cannibals; Lares (8.110, 9.137, 12.113, 13.233, 14.20), alluding to the respect shown to the household gods; Latona (6.176, 10.292), mentioned as the mother of Diana; Marsya (9.2), referring to the shepherd flayed by Apollo for an unsubstantiated boast; a statue of Marsyas was in the forum; Mars (9.101, 10.314, 13.79, 14.261, 16.5), referring to the divine power of Mars; Minerva (3.139, 219, 10.116, 13.82), alluding to the worship of Minerva; Neptunus (13.152), referring to a statue of Neptune, defaced by plunderers; Nestor (6.326), referring to the possibility of Nestor's being sexually aroused by the rites of a debauched religious cult; Orestes (8.220), alluding to the murderer who nevertheless did not sing on the stage; Paean (6.172, 174), an appellation of Apollo; Parcae (12.64), referring to the Fates; Pax (1.115, 9.23), referred to as a divinity; Pelides (3.280), referring to Achilles as grieving for Patroclus; Penelope (2.56), referring to her constant knitting; Phoebus (7.233)[1], Pholus (12.45) a centaur[2] known for drinking; Pierides (4.36), referring to the muse; Polyphemus (9.64, 14.20), referred to as

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1. Cf. Macleane, op. cit., 183.
2. Cf. Vergil, Georgics, 2, 456.

terror-filling; Priapus (6.316), referring to the cult of this divinity, here confused with that of Dionysus; Prometheus (4.133, 15.85), referred to as the bringer of fire and as the first potter; Pudicitia (6.1, 14.308), referred to as a quality absent from Juvenal's time; Pylades (16.26), mentioned in a proverbial sense for his friendship for Orestes; Pyrrha (1.84), used to show the beginning of time; Rhadamanthus (13.197), the famous judge of the underworld; Romulëae (11.104), referring to Romulus and Remus; Saturnus (6.570, 13.40), referred to as giving a name to a planet, and as fleeing from the wickedness of the world; Scylla (15.19), referred to as a danger more credible than the story of two warring Egyptian towns; Sibylla (3.3, 8.126), used as an example of truth, and as living at Cumae; Stygius (2.150), referring to the underworld; Taurica (15.116), referring to the legend of the Tauri who sacrificed all strangers; Telamon (14.214), mentioned as the father of Ajax, a son surpassing his father in strength; Teresia (13.249), referring to the blind prophet of Thebes; Terpsichore (7.35), alluding to the muse of dancing; Thersites (269, 271, 11.31), the boastful rival of Achilles; Tisiphon (6.29), referred to as one of the Furies; Tyndares (6.657), referring to Clytaemnestra, the murderess of Agamemnon; Ulixes

(15.14), referred to as an adverturer whose tales were incredible; Venus (2.31, 6.138, 300, 7.25, 10.290, 16.5), mentioned as the goddess of love and as a divinity; Vesta (6.386), mentioned as a divinity, Victoria (1.115), mentioned as a divinity; Virtus (1.115), mentioned as a divinity; Vulcanus (1.9, 8.270, 10.132), mentioned as a divinity, and as the fashioner of arms.

Geographical:Actiaca (2.109), referring to Cleopatra's naval flight from the battle of Actium; Agathyrsi (15.125), a Dacian people, referred to as wild; Ancon (4.210), referring to a flourishing town of Picenum and was founded by refugees from Syracuse; Anticyra (13.97), Anticyra, a town in Phocie, which abounded in hellebore, the supposed cure for insanity; Arpinas (8.237, 245), alluded to as the birthplace of both Cicero and Marius; Artexata (2.170), the capital of Asia Minor, referred to as influenced by debased Roman manners; Arcadius (7.160), referring to Arcadie, the people of which land were proverbially dull; Athenae (10.127), referring to Athens which admired Demosthenes; Aurunca (1.20), referring to the birth place of Lucilius at Suessa Aurunca; Baiae (3.4), referring to desirable home sites at Baiae; Baianus (12.80), referring to a small skiff of the type used at Baiae; Bardaicus (16.13), referring to the Bardaei, an Illyrian people who gave this

name to a coarse shoe; Beneventanus (5.46), referring to the birthplace of Vatinius of Beneventum, who rose to prominence under Nero; Bebriacus (2.106), referring to Bebriacum near which town Otho suffered a heavy defeat; Brigantes (14.196), a wild tribe in north England; Britanni (2.161, 4.126, 15.111), referring to the Britanni, the dwellers of England, who were very troublesome in Juvenal's lifetime; Brittanica (10.14), referring to England in whose seas were large whales; Brittones (15.124), referring to the British, a wild people; Bruttia, referring to a cosmetic from the territory of the Bruttii in the south of Italy; Cannae (2.155, 11.200), referring to the disaster there, after which the Roman world went into mourning; Cantaber (15.108), a Spanish people who were uncivilized; Capreae (10.72, 93), mentioned as the retreat of the Emperor Tiberius; Capena (3.11), referring to the porta Capena, leading to the south; Chatti (4.147), a people of Germany, mentioned as unfriendly to Rome; Cilix (8.94), referring to Cilicia, known for its piracy; Cimbri (8.249, 15.124), enemies of Rome who were conquered by Marius; Clitumnus (12.13), a river of Umbria washing rich pasture land; Coptus (15.28), a dissolute city of Egypt; Corycius (14.267), Corycia, a town of Cilicia famous for its saffron export; Cremera (2.155), referring

to the stream Cremera, north of Rome, to which the whole Fabian gens moved when dissatisfied with conditions in Rome; Cumae (3.2, 321), mentioned as a stopping place between Rome and Baiae; Dacicus (6.205), referring to coins commemorating Domitian's victory in A. D. 87 over the Dacians; Daci (4.111), referring to the Dacians as Roman enemies; Dorica (4.40), referring to Ancon which received its epithet Dorica because it was founded by Greeks from Syracuse; Egeria (3.17), referring to the modern vale of La Caffarella where Umbricius and Juvenal stopped to chat; Etruscus (5.164), referring to the bulla from Etruria as a sign of free birth; Fabrateria (3.224), a town in Latium on the banks of the Liris, known for its inexpensive rate of living; Fidenae (10.100), a little town in Italy known for the simplicity of its living; Frusino (3.224), a town near Fabrateria where living expenses were low; Gabii (3.192, 7, 4, 10.100), a town in Italy of little population, and an easy rate of life; Gades (10.0), taken as the western limit of the world; Gaetula (14.278), referring to the seas of northern Africa, frequented by fishermen; Gangee (10.2), referring to India as the eastern limit of the world; Germanicus (6.205), a coin struck to commemorate Domitian's victory over the Germans; Hister (8.179), referring to the warlike tribes of the Danube; Indi

(6.337), referring to knowledge of the Priapean rites even by the Indians; Indicus (15.163), referring to India as the source of tigers; Italia (3.171, 12.78), referring to the land as washed by the seas, and given in a great measure to simplicity of living; Iuverna (2.160), referring to Ireland as no longer a limit to Roman arms; Latinus (5.55, 6.637, 8.256), referring to the via Latina, which extended between rows of tombs, and as a synonym for Roman; Latius (2.127), referring to the shepherd kings of Latium, Romulus and Remus; Laurens (1.107), referring to the winter resort of the Romans, Laurentum; Leucas (8.241), referring to the battle of Actium which took place about thirty miles north of the island Leucas; Libya (11.25), referring to Mt. Atlas in Africa; Maeotis (15.115), referring to the district around the Sea of Azov, the inhabitants of which sacrificed strangers to their goddess; Marsus (3.169, 14.180), referring to a tribe of Sabellian stock noted for their simple living; Maurus (6.337, 10.148, 11.105, 14.196), referring to Africans, enemies of Rome, and a distant region to which fame of the Priapean rites has arrived; Memphatis (15.122), used to designate Egypt; Memphis was a town in Egypt; Minturnae (10.276), the marsh of Minturnae, in Latium, where Marius was caught by Sulla; Nilus (10.159, 13.27, 15.123), referring to the rich river Nile to indicate

Egypt; Olynthus (12.47), referring to the capture of Olynthus by Philip who bribed two citizens to open the gates; Orcades (2.161), referring to the inhabitants of the Orkneys and Shetland Islands who were inimical to Rome; Pactolus (14.299), referring to a river in Lydia, the Pactolus, which contained gold; Pharius (13.85), referring to the island of Pharos as Egyptian; the vinegar from Egypt was very strong; Pisaeus (13.99), referring to Pisa near which town was the plain of Olympia to which Pisaeus alludes; Ponticus (6.661, 15.114), referring to Mithridates, king of Pontus, and to Colchis in Pontus, where the golden fleece was guarded; Praeneste (3.190), referring to the pleasure of living in Praeneste which was twenty-three miles from Rome; Prochyta (3.5), referring to the island now called Procida, as a bad place to live; this island is near Cape Misenum; Rhenus (8.170), referring to the Rhine river beyond which were enemies of Rome; Roma (3.137, 8.237, 843, 10.279), referring to Rome as the center of the world, with its vices and virtues; Rutulus (12.105), referring to the people of Latium, of whom Turnus was one; -- Here elephants, the satirists says, were kept by the emperors; Sabella (3.169), referring to the simplicity of manners of the Sabines; Sabinus (6.164), referring to the chastity of the Sabine women; Santonicus (8.145), referring to

the Gaulish Santones who made simple woolen manufactures; Sauromata (15.125), referring to descendants of the Amazons and living between the Don and Volga rivers; the women of this people were said never to marry until they had killed an enemy; Senones (8.234), referring to an enemy of Rome, the Senones, a Gallic tribe living near the Seine river; Sora (3.223), referring to the cheapness of homes in Sora, a town on the Liris river; Sycambri (4.147), referring to a warlike people of the Rhine troubling Rome; Syria (8.159), mentioned as needing an army to protect it; Tagus (3.55, 14.299), a river in Spain noted for its gold; Thabraca (10.194), referring to Tabrace, a town in Numidia, surrounded by a jungle in which were monkeys; Thebae (13.37), referring to Thebes in Egypt; Thebe (15.6), alluding to the story of Thebes' hundred gates; Thessalia (8.242), referring to Pharsalus in Thessaly identified by some poets with Philippi, to the battle of which reference is made here; Thrax (13.167), referring to the cranes of Thrace; Thule (15.112), referring to the largest of the Shetland islands, whence a teacher of rhetoric was to be hired; Tiberis (3.62), referring to the river as Rome; Tibur (3.192, 14.87), referring to the Tibur which was sixteen miles from Rome, and was a fashionable place to live; Troia (10.258),

mentioned as burning as Priam looked on; Tuscus (10.74, 13.62), referring to Etruria as the birth place of Sejanus, and to the Etrurian books of the prophets; Tyrrhenus (6.92, 12.76), referring to the Tuscan sea; Vascones (15.93), referring to the ancient enemies of Rome between the Pyrenees and the river Iberus in Spain, who, when besieged by Sertorius, were reduced to eating their own people; Venusina (6.167), referring to a simple country girl from Venusia; Vestinus (14.181), referring to the Vestini, a tribe of central Italy, whose manner of life was simple; the Vestini were a Sabellian people; Volsinii (3.191), referring to Volsinii, a resort town in Etruria; Zacynthus (15.114), referring to Saguntum, the Spanish city, the citizens of which were said to have devoured the bodies of their comrades.

Topography of Rome: Aemilius (6.32), referring to the bridge across the Tiber, opposite to Mons Aventinus, referred to as a means of suicide; Aventinus (3.65), referring to the Aventine hill; here put for Rome; Capitolia (10.65, 14.91), referring to the temple of Jupiter; Capitoline (6.387), referring to the Capitoline games instituted by Nero; Esquiliae (5.78), referring to the Esquiline hill, on which were the home of many rich, and which was exposed to northern blasts; Latina (6.287), referring to the chastity accompanying the poverty of

ancient Roman women; Latium (12.103), put for Rome; Latius (11.115), put for Rome; Palatinus (6.117), referring to the Palatine as a place for the wealthy to live; Remus (10.731), used for Rome; Roma (3.41, 83, 137, 165, 183, 314, 319, 438; 5.90, 714, 138, 8.237, 243; 10.122, 279; 11.46, 193), used to designate Rome; Sabinus (3.85), referring to the olive grown on the Sabine hills; Subura (3.5; 5.106; 10.156; 11.51, 141), referring to the Subura, referred to as the very heart of Rome; Tiberis (14.202), used to designate Rome; Tiberinus (8.265), referring to Cloelia who swam across the Tiber to escape Tarquinius; Vaticanus (6.344), referring to the clay in the neighborhood of Rome.

Summary

The foregoing study has sufficed to show what a conspicuous element of Juvenal's style is constituted by his use of proper names. It is readily seen that they add color and intensity to their environment, and often serve as a form of literary relief through providing a momentary digression. This study was particularly concerned, however, with such proper names as are not necessary to the immediate context of which they are a part; but which are, in themselves, suggestive of minor themes. The wealth of such themes is especially noticeable. They supply, as it were, a cross section of the life and interests of Juvenal's age, in so far as they relate themselves to his literary purposes. Typical minor themes which we have found to be thus introduced are; Immorality, Luxury, Ancient Roman Virtues; The Wealthy Parvenu and Affectation of Culture; Patronage-Clientage, Legacy Hunting; The Pursuit of Literature, Oratory, Music, and Art; Foreigners in Rome, Poverty, Collapse of Governmental Institutions; and Follies of Mankind. In addition to these, a final group of minor themes were found to be unrelated to each other and have been classified as miscellaneous. In this way it has been possible to survey all the proper names used by Juvenal in his satires and to analyze their stylistic significance.

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